THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 170 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 14, 1950 NUMBER 2

The Shape of Things

"OUR ECONOMY CAN AND MUST CONTINUE to grow." That was the central theme of the economic message sent to Congress by the President on January 5. The whole tone of the statement, like that of the message on the State of the Union discussed elsewhere in these pages, was optimistic and non-combative. Mr. Truman uttered no threats to private enterprise unless an expressed determination to pursue policies designed to further expansion of national wealth, more complete use of resources, and more equitable distribution of the national product is to be construed as such. He assumed that government could count on the cooperation of business men and urged that they "base their investment policies on confidence in growth, shape their price policies to the needs of larger markets, and proceed with vigor and ingenuity to the development of better products." Reviewing the events of the past year, the President declared that it had been a generally prosperous period but pointed out that the down turn last spring had caused unnecessary loss and suffering: that was an example of the price paid for economic instability. Now, he claimed, the recession had been overcome by "effective teamwork between free enterprise and government," and it was possible for the nation to make new advances. Specifically, "our immediate goal for 1950 should be to regain maximum employment," which would mean at least 61,000,000 jobs and a 7 per cent increase in national output: within five years we could, and should, achieve a gross national product of $300 billion compared with $259 billion in 1949. Mr. Truman said he would ask for some tax revisions to stimulate business and reduce inequities but withheld details for his budget message, which Keith Hutchison will analyze in our next issue.

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THE TRUMAN-ACHESON STATEMENTS ON Formosa may have been precipitated by embarrassing press reports of differences between the State and Defense departments and by politically inspired Republican attacks, but they were the healthiest and most realistic thing that has happened in Washington for some time. Their importance was much more far-reaching and decisive than the actual words used. First, and explicitly, they ruled out the plan called for by MacArthur and his Congressional spokesmen and acquiesced in, at least temporarily, by the Joint Chiefs of Staff—namely, the dispatch of arms, military advisers, and financial aid to Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa. Second, they reaffirmed the Cairo-Potsdam pledge that Formosa would revert to Chinese rule—whatever the government in power—dispelling the notion that it might be regarded either as a no-man's land subject to American control or as a part of Japan's empire. Third, the announcement of a hands-off policy opened the way for eventual American recognition of the Communist regime in China and the transfer of China's seat in the Security Council to a representative of that regime—two necessary steps which would have been indefinitely blocked by active support of Chiang's exile government in Formosa. Fourth, and nearer home, they snatched the political offensive from the Republicans, challenging them, in effect, to use the issue of continued aid to the defeated Nationalists in the coming Congressional campaign. All this is to the good. It does not erase the fact, however, that the Administration by its own ineptness both invited interventionist pressure and allowed the issue to swell to dangerous proportions. A decision based on the facts revealed in the White Paper and on the principles recited by the President and Mr. Acheson should have been announced when it was made, sometime before December 23, the date when a confidential memorandum was sent to foreign-service officials instructing them on how to handle local reactions to the anticipated loss of Formosa to the Communists. This would have avoided an exhibition of internal conflict and prevented a lot of public anxiety both here and abroad.

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AMERICAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EUROPE is going to be governed by our military men to a degree that may create a good deal of friction between this country and the other signatories of the Atlantic Pact. Very little has been said here about American control over the use of the arms sent to Europe, but the British and Continental newspapers are giving much attention to this issue and displaying considerable alarm. According to the French press, the rights the American military staff will enjoy in France are of a particularly comprehensive nature. To begin with, they cover the use of certain French means of transportation considered necessary to the supply of American forces stationed in Germany. In addition, the American army is to be given

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1950, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. *Subscription Prices:* Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year; Foreign and Canadian $1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index

areas of maneuver in one of the maritime regions of France, and special supply depots for goods destined for the American troops in Germany. More disturbing to the French is the fact that the American military staff, which will enjoy full diplomatic immunity, will control to the last detail the use France makes of the arms sent from this country. Not only will the French army be prohibited from using a single American rifle for the campaign in Indo-China, but it must obtain the consent of the American authorities for any use of American supplies within France. At the beginning the French believed "notification" would be enough, but now it is clear that "authorization" will be required. In all this there are so many possibilities of trouble that an eminent French jurist is being sent to Washington to try to obtain certain amendments of the rules, or at least modifications of procedure, designed to eliminate some sources of difference.

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THE STERLING AREA'S DEFICIT WITH THE dollar area, which exceeded $1,400,000,000 in the first nine months of 1949, was only $31,000,000 in the last quarter. Thus, thanks to E. R. P. receipts and other dollar credits totaling $294,000,000, Sir Stafford Cripps was able to announce on January 4 that the sterling area's gold and dollar reserves had risen by $263,000,000 to $1,688,000,000. These figures should prove a corrective to some of the more pessimistic speculations about sterling current in this country, even though, as Cripps was careful to emphasize, the improvement in the situation is not sufficient to justify any complacency. The narrowing of the gap between the sterling area's dollar receipts and payments was partly due to an inflow of dollar payments which had been deferred in anticipation of devaluation. This, of course, is a non-recurring item. Another helpful factor was renewed American buying of such raw materials as rubber, tin, and cocoa following the fall business revival in this country. Exports of British manufactures to this country also expanded in volume but not sufficiently to compensate for the average reduction in dollar prices. This is not to say, however, that Britain's export drive must be written off as a failure. There is bound to be a time lag between the placing of new orders and the delivery of the goods, and therefore it will be possible only in the coming months to ascertain to what extent the cheaper pound has stimulated North American purchases in Britain. Meanwhile Britain and other sterling countries have sharply reduced their purchases in the dollar area: that is the chief reason why the trade deficit has been so sharply reduced. However, this curtailment of imports, necessary as it is as a short-term measure, is not a long-term solution for the balance-of-payments problem. As Cripps has repeatedly said, Britain's primary objective is not to buy less abroad but to sell more.

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THERE ARE A COUPLE OF PEOPLE WHO ought to get together, we think, if only to make the New York *Journal-American* more intelligible to its too many readers. One is Westbrook Pegler, master of the libel-proof smear, who says on pages 3 and 4 of the January 7 issue of that paper:

> Some victims of the Hyde Park voodoo who reviewed Eleanor's latest batch of double-talk and evasions audaciously entitled "This I Remember," have babbled about her passion for truth. Yet she tangles herself up in so many snarls that no bus conductor accustomed to the simple problems of making change, to say nothing of a tax reviewer, schooled in the artful tricks of confusion, would have to give her credit for candor.

The other is the fellow who writes the *Journal-American's* house ads. Just below Mr. Pegler, in huge display type across eight columns, he gives his version:

> START SUNDAY. "This I Remember" by Eleanor Roosevelt. Only Eleanor Roosevelt could write this story. Only she can reveal the intimate details, the inner-sanctum secrets of America's most talked-about family. . . . "This I Remember" is a tremendous book, a top best-seller, an indispensable, absorbing document of the great events of our times. Begin it tomorrow. . . .

All of which brings up another question which has been lurking in the recesses of our mind for some time: What is Eleanor Roosevelt doing in the *Journal-American* anyhow?

*

HOW THE LONG-SUPPRESSED RESENTMENT of newspaper readers can find constructive public expression is illustrated by a formal resolution adopted by twenty-nine members of the El Paso County Ministerial Alliance, of Colorado Springs, Colorado. The resolution declares that the *Gazette-Telegraph*, a local newspaper, is undeserving of community support on five counts: namely, opposing the public-school system, opposing the right of labor to bargain collectively, opposing the churches of the community, vilifying religious leaders, and opposing equality of employment regardless of race, creed, or color. The indictment is impressive and would seem to warrant some corrections in policy. Although it may never be possible to apply the principle of collective bargaining in disputes between newspaper readers and newspaper owners, it is important that the latter should hear from dissatisfied customers, from time to time, particularly from those who express themselves with the candor and directness of the Colorado ministers.

*

THE FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION STARTED hearings in Washington on January 4 on a matter of far-reaching importance to the Western states. The El Paso Natural Gas Company has applied for permission to construct a Texas-to-California pipe line that will supply natural gas to the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the northern California monopoly. The Interstate Natural Gas Company, as intervenor, has requested the FPC to reserve up to 50 per cent of the new pipe line's capacity for the use of cities and corporations not parties to the application. This request is based on Section 28 of the Oil Land Leasing Act of 1920, which provides that when rights of way for pipe lines are granted over government lands, the pipe lines must be constructed and operated as common carriers. In this instance the route of the pipe line crosses some fifty-four pieces of public land. A decision in favor of the intervenor will mean that those who control the pipe line will have to compete with other suppliers of natural gas at the source and that cities and concerns in California may contract with independent suppliers at competitive rates. Prior to the hearings, only the McClatchy newspapers had called attention to the significance of the proceedings. It will be interesting to see with what fullness and precision the hearings will be reported in California.

*

DR. THEODORE W. SCHULTZ AND DR. D. GALE Johnson, of the University of Chicago, recently talked some uncommonly sound common sense to the subcommittee of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. The question under discussion was how to improve the lot of an estimated 2,400,000 farm families earning $2,000 a year or less. In effect, both professors accused Congress, and not the weather, of responsibility for the continued distress of this large segment of the rural population. In the first place, Congress has virtually liquidated the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, which had begun a study of the low-income problem on farms and had issued a preliminary report of which Congress had been "excessively critical." Secondly, Congress has continued to support various "price" policies without examining the power relationships between different elements engaged in agriculture. Higher prices for farm products profit certain agricultural producers but do not necessarily help low-income farmers, to whom a 10 per cent rise in prices is largely meaningless. Congress continues to adopt fancy "price" programs, while sabotaging such agencies as the BAE because low-income farmers, as Drs. Schultz and Johnson point out, lack political influence and, of major importance, lack influence in those farm organizations which determine agricultural pol-

Coming Soon

What We Could Do About Asia

By Edgar Snow

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icy. All this, of course, was a little more than the committee cared to hear; but if the problem of low-income farm families is to be faced, Congress will eventually have to consider precisely these issues.

*

ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT AGREE WITH HIS strident neo-malthusianism or his preference for universal birth control over modern technology as an instrument of economic advance, we can sympathize with William Vogt. According to *Science Service,* Vogt's advocacy of birth control has cost him his job as chief of the conservation section of the Pan-American Union. Last summer the author of "Road to Survival" wrote an article for the *Saturday Evening Post* predicting failure for President Truman's Point Four program unless Latin American and Asiatic governments took immediate steps to check population growth. Member governments of the Pan-American Union objected, and he was told to drop his literary activities as long as he was with the union. Vogt chose to resign. While it is true that he argued his case in a manner calculated to offend Roman Catholic sensibilities, Vogt's fate augurs ill for others who may wish to advocate birth control as a complementary measure for raising living standards in backward areas.

*

THE LATEST FAD IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, old-fashioned Western square dancing, has blossomed into a $1,000,000 a year industry. Before the war square dancing was as little in fashion in Los Angeles, home of the big-name dance bands, as the Charleston, the Black Bottom, or the Big Apple, but today there are more than 600 "square dance" associations, and at least 50,000 people square dance every week in gatherings which often find more than 2,500 people under one roof. The 250 or more "callers" who currently make up the profession are busy night and day. No one knows precisely what it was that touched off this latest craze, but the dancers themselves seem to enjoy the informality and the rather robust social democracy that goes with it. The new emphasis on allemande, do-si-do, promenade, sashay, and grand right and left has brought new prosperity to the record industry of Hollywood and has brought into being a dozen dress stores specializing in lacy pantaloons and camisoles. No one knows quite what it all means, but each week more and more Southern Californians are jumping up and down, "swinging their honeys around and around."

The Second Hiss Trial

By Robert Bendiner

In an Early Issue

Journalistic Cannibalism

IF WE mourn the death of the *Sun,* it is because we hate to see further concentration of newspaper ownership and because it spells undeserved hardship for some 1,200 press-room, editorial, and business-office workers. The paper itself had done little to compel admiration during the last 34 of its 116 years. Ever since 1916, when it was bought by Frank A. Munsey, that famous butcher of newspapers, it had been suffering from editorial sclerosis. Its one redeeming feature was a certain dignity in style and make-up which contrasted pleasantly with the general vulgarity of the New York evening press. It had lost the sparkle which had once made it renowned as "the newspaperman's newspaper" and attracted a brilliant staff. More and more it had become the mouthpiece of a dreary conservatism, expressing stereotyped opposition to every forward movement of our time.

That is the real reason why the *Sun* has gone down. Its audience of elderly well-to-do Republicans had shrunk through natural causes, and it had little appeal for younger New Yorkers, who tend to be more liberal than their fathers. Circulation declined and with it advertising revenues. Thomas W. Dewart, publisher of the *Sun,* naturally blamed other factors in his obituary announcement. He said that the trouble was "mounting production costs," and this he ascribed to union demands, which had forced an 80.4 per cent increase in the average pay of individual employees in the last ten years, and, with less emphasis, to the price of newsprint, which in the same period has in fact risen more than 100 per cent.

Mr. Dewart failed to mention that the *Sun* was the one New York daily which had successfully resisted organization of its editorial and commercial employees by the American Newspaper Guild: they were represented only by company unions. Nor did he provide a balance sheet to back up his statement about costs. Had he done so, we suspect it would have shown that labor costs were absorbing no greater proportion of gross revenue than in 1939.

The attempt to place responsibility for failure on the *Sun's* staff adds insult to injury, and it is not surprising if the suddenly dismissed workers feel bitter as they start hunting for new jobs. The *World-Telegram* has taken over about a dozen feature writers, and George E. Sokolsky, the parlor-car Pegler, has found a suitable niche in the pages of Hearst's *Journal-American,* along with Rube Goldberg and John McClain. With unemployment already high in the New York newspaper field, prospects for the others are bleak.

With its acquisition of the *Sun,* the *World-Telegram,* New York member of the Scripps-Howard chain, now

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represents no less than six once independent newspapers. The original *Telegram* swallowed the *Mail* in 1924 and the *World* in 1931. The *Sun* itself had incorporated the New York *Press* and the *Globe*. This is something of a record in the annals of journalistic cannibalism.

In its first issue the *World Telegram and the Sun* claimed that it now combined "the ideals of Pulitzer, Scripps, and Dana"—"three of the fightingest liberals who ever ran newspapers." We shall watch hopefully for any evidence that this claim is justified. As of today it would seem more accurate to say that the paper combines the ideals of Munsey and Roy Howard, who are likely to be remembered in future histories of journalism as the killers rather than the creators of newspapers.

President and Congress

IN AN election year the President's message to Congress is perhaps not quite the objective analysis of the country's problems that it ought to be; in this particular year it is certainly not an outline of what the Chief Executive expects the Congress to deliver. One need not be over cynical, in fact, to regard it as the opening blast in a political campaign. But read even in this hard light, Mr. Truman's message is informative to those who have the will to follow its implications.

What the President conveyed, beneath his request for execution of the Fair Deal, was a conviction that the voters who swept him into office in 1948 have had no political change of heart; that, moreover, the fate they meted out to the Eightieth Congress can also be the lot of the Eighty-first. Coming from as sensitive a political barometer as Truman has proved himself to be, the notice is heartening as well as timely, hopeful as well as tactical. Whether the President is a profound believer in the ideology of the "welfare state" or, as some liberal commentators fear, merely a perceptive politician who knows where the votes lie, is a question we are willing to leave for the time to those who are skilled in measuring motives. The fact is that Mr. Truman has thrown down the gauntlet to the tories, and they have accepted the challenge with almost fatuous eagerness. For the political health of the country that is all to the good. The more firmly the Republicans reject the "me-too" approach, the more clear-cut will be the verdict.

This is not to deny that the mild tone of the message and its almost complacent optimism have added to the suspicion of those who think the President is playing for a recalcitrant Congress, the easier to repeat the triumph of 1948. He asked perfunctorily for repeal of the hated Taft-Hartley act but suggested no formula for replacing it. He touched lightly on the need for "supporting farm income at fair levels" but failed to press for immediate passage of the Brannan bill. And his request for civil-rights legislation was not accompanied by the fervor for the subject he has displayed on other occasions. Mr. Truman is perhaps better aware than anyone else in the country that what won for him in 1948 was the combination of trade unionists, farmers, and the Negro vote, the last of which, White House strategists point out, exceeded in key states the majority by which Truman was victorious. If these three major pieces of legislation are scuttled by the Republican-Dixiecrat combination, the Truman Democrats may again be able to appeal effectively to these same groups.

There may well be this element of guile in the President's strategy, but if so it would seem to be incidental rather than basic. It could not even have occurred to the President's advisers if it were not perfectly apparent that the tory coalition was determined to have its way in any case. The derision with which the message was received on the right side of the aisle showed clearly that the Republicans were in no mood for conciliation. One hundred of their more hysterical Representatives have signed a statement accusing the President of committing himself "to the eventual socialization of America." And the mere suggestion of a fair-employment-practices act brings warning of a certain and deadly filibuster by the Southerners. Capitol statistics show that there is no visible chance that the present Congress will repeal Taft-Hartley, pass the Brannan bill, or enact more than a small fraction of the civil-rights program. In other words, the Fair Dealers are planning to exact a campaign advantage from a situation not of their creating. Beyond that, it may be hoped, they are angling for a decision at the polls that will smash the grip of the coalition altogether—an objective that clearly transcends the immediate passage of any particular bills.

If this is indeed the strategy, it is one that admittedly has its dangers. There is obviously a limit beyond which it is not safe for a party to complain that it is stymied, a point at which this admitted frustration will be regarded simply as an incapacity to govern. To offset its failure in the fields of labor, farm, and civil-rights legislation the Administration will have to pile up a record of achievement elsewhere. As far as the voters are concerned, the Democrats are, after all, in control of both houses of Congress, and they will have to show results. Given effective leadership, they should be able to deliver as a minimum an appreciably broadened social-security system, an extension of rent control, and a renewal of adequate E. C. A. appropriations. They should get through at least some of the following measures: a liberalized displaced-persons law, a housing program for middle-income groups, a strengthened anti-trust law, establishment of a national science foundation, the beginnings of a "Point Four" program, and anti-lynch and anti-poll tax laws as the modest first instalment of civil-rights legislation. Beyond these, the Truman forces

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on the Hill will have to put up a battle for a Columbia Valley Authority, the St. Lawrence seaway, federal aid to education, and a public-health bill in addition to the Brannan Plan and repeal of Taft-Hartley, however little chance these measures appear to have.

It was one thing for Harry Truman to go to the country with a bill of particulars against "the do-nothing Republican Eightieth Congress." A querulous campaign following a meek surrender to the Democratic Eighty-first would be something very different.

Halfway to What?

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE embattled American plutocracy, finding political power slipping from its hands and seeing little in the whole world to give it comfort, has invented a nice little theory to scare its enemies and quiet its own apprehensions. This is that the policies of the New Deal or the Fair Deal are a halfway house to socialism, even as socialism is a halfway house to communism and totalitarianism. Any nation, therefore, which uses its sovereign power to extend the general welfare is starting down the slippery slope which ends in the abyss of totalitarianism. At a recent convention of the National Association of Manufacturers almost every speaker reiterated this idea until it became a kind of liturgy. It was not quite clear whether the business community hoped to regain political power by emphasizing the danger or was assuring itself of its own virtue as the defender of a lost but sacred cause.

The politicians of the right, as distinguished from the business men, have not yet achieved such a degree of unanimity. They must win elections, and they have learned through bitter experience that the American people are not impressed by the allegedly inexorable logic of history, which is supposed to deliver them into the arms of communism if they decide to use their political power to guarantee their basic economic security. Mr. Dewey complained after his defeat that the critics of his "me-tooism" did not know what it took to win an election in a modern industrial community, but his complaint did not prevent him from trying the other tack in the recent senatorial election. That was not successful either. Governor Dewey's dilemma is typical of that which the Republican Party is bound to face for some time to come, and which need not detain us here.

American business men, much less hesitantly than the politicians, assert that the same America which from the perspective of an impoverished Europe and Asia seems to cling to an almost neolithic economic theory is already on the way to communism. John T. Flynn has recently invented a variant of the theory. British socialism, he declares, is a halfway house to *either* fascism or communism. It has no other choice.

The idea is too implausible to have much political effect. The danger is that it may so blind American business men to real trends that they will understand the world they live in as little as the bosses of the Kremlin, who wear another set of blinders. Our business men, to be sure, are not so powerful as the Communist oligarchs, but they are not impotent, and they might in their blindness become dangerous. We ought to do our best, therefore, to enlighten them.

In this task the first point to emphasize is that no nation in modern history has ever lost its liberties by inadvertence. No people has ever used a free election to annul the power of its suffrage. Totalitarian systems are forced upon nations in times of social convulsion, when minorities of either the right or the left have found it possible to seize control of the government. Aware that a free election would never validate their authority, these minorities have destroyed democracy, either with the complete cynicism of the Nazis or the combined cynicism and illusion of the Communists.

It must be noted, in the second place, that the Socialist and quasi-Socialist regimes which seek to control economic life through the democratic process have impaired the liberties of their peoples so little that two such governments, in Australia and in New Zealand, have just been defeated in an election. In Great Britain the coming election will probably be close; if the Tories are defeated, it will not be because they were unable to reach the ear of the electorate but because they failed to persuade its mind and conscience. They will lose the election, if they do, for the same reason that the Republicans lost in 1948.

This does not mean that every detail of democratic socialism is defensible or that the successive steps toward the political control of economic processes in America are always justified. But whatever the differences between the United States and the Socialist and quasi-Socialist nations of the Continent, we have in common the will to use political power to mitigate the injustices which arise from the increased centralization of eco-

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nomic power inherent in a technical society. Thus political movements driven solely by the resentments of the defrauded and intent upon a revolutionary overthrow of society are not required. Society moves from point to point toward a more tolerable justice.

THE nostalgia of the American business community for the "never-never land" of pure laissez faire is doubly ironic. In the first place, the business community sought, as long as it could, to bend political power to its ends, violating every principle of free enterprise. The tariff policy of the Republican Party is certainly not in harmony with the principles of laissez faire; nor were such devices as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which, originally conceived in the Hoover era, was designed to bail out some of the weakest units of American business. Protests rose against the use of political power in economic life when the masses began to use it to broaden their economic opportunities, to check the centralization of economic power, and to assure basic economic security. The American business community tried desperately to prove the truth of the Marxist theory that political power is always the slave of the dominant economic power. The theory was refuted through the discovery by the common people that their political power could be used to redress economic imbalances.

Business nostalgia is also ironic because the movement away from the pure theory and the impure practice of free enterprise actually saved modern democratic nations from the social convulsions with their totalitarian outcome which occurred in less democratic nations. This movement invalidated not only the Marxist dogma of the inevitable subservience of political to economic power but the ancillary doctrine that an imperiled privileged class would inevitably embark on fascist adventures to destroy the democracy which endowed the people with dangerous political power. No fascist adventures were resorted to in Britain, or in Norway or Sweden, or in Australia or New Zealand. It is possible, in short, for nations to have so strong a sense of community beyond and above the class conflict that a minority will yield its privileges without seeking to destroy the majority's political power. The minority submits in healthy democratic nations partly because it has a sense of justice beyond its class interests and partly because the authority of government is great enough to make a rebellion of either the right or the left too precarious.

In America no full-fledged Marxist movement has ever developed. If the lack of one retarded the political development of the working classes here, it also freed American labor from many Marxist illusions which European labor parties carry as so much excess baggage. The highly pragmatic and not very consistent policies of the New Deal first showed the American people how to use political power for correcting economic abuses. But the election of Truman was more instructive than anything which happened in the Roosevelt era. For here a candidate, seemingly doomed to defeat, saved himself by embracing the cause of the common man more unambiguously than Roosevelt ever did.

The movement toward basic economic security for the common man in America is too pragmatic to satisfy British Socialists, even as the British have always been too lax in their dogmas to satisfy their more orthodox colleagues on the Continent. But the British and Scandinavian Socialists have carried the national communities with them, while the orthodox Continental parties have never succeeded in gaining any great mass of adherents outside the industrial workers. The democratic middle ground on the Continent must therefore be held by an uneasy alliance between working-class parties encumbered with Marxist dogma and middle-class parties controlled by ecclesiastical interests. No one can doubt the sincerity of the Socialist devotion to freedom and opposi-

LOOKING BACKWARD

Twenty-Five Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE man who has merely a congenital disinclination to meddling is the one most likely to extend the range of individual liberty. Skepticism, tolerance, and, above all, a natural tendency to prefer to see men go wrong in their own way than right in your own—these are freedom's greatest friends in a world where absolute liberty must remain always an abstraction. Include in your own definition of freedom the inalienable right of every man to be a fool if he likes or to go to hell in his own way, and you are a liberal; desire too ardently to do him good and you are a tyrant—in embryo at least.—JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, January 14, 1925.

We are developing a tribe of journalists proud of their success in protecting the public from unpleasant facts and of telling it only what they believe good for it to know—but democracy can hardly be built upon such foundations.—LEWIS S. GANNETT.

The odious *somaten*, the musket-armed constabulary heretofore used only in Catalan, have been sent to all parts of Spain; five hundred army officials have been sprinkled throughout the land as mentors to right conduct. The next step in the process is clear—schism in the army. If the army becomes the one avenue of social control, then, however devious and diluted, the ideas that motivate peoples and nations will debouch into the army. . . . The next shift in affairs is likely to come from the disgruntled elements in the army itself, with attendant crumbling of discipline and social stability that can only be, in its immediate effects, tragically catastrophic.—CARLETON BEALS.

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tion to communism. But the Socialists regard Stalinism as a corruption of the original Marxist dream. They do not fully recognize that this corruption is the natural fruit of certain Marxist illusions. The most grievous of these illusions is the expectation that the proletarian state will wither away, for this inclines men toward an uncritical acceptance of an allegedly temporary dictatorship.

Pragmatism as such has no particular virtue. There must be a proper framework of values in which pragmatic decisions are reached. The democratic movement, whether Socialist or non-Socialist, finds this framework in devotion to justice and freedom and in a recognition that while every form of power, whether political or economic, must be made to serve the cause of justice, the very exercise of power imperils justice.

MANY modern democracies which have placed checks upon economic power have sacrificed no essential freedom, not even the freedom of the nation to reverse the tendency toward greater control of economic life. It does not follow, however, that the indeterminate extension of political control over life is necessarily wise. On the contrary, it may be unwise, not because a tyrannical state is thus inadvertently created, as the conservatives maintain, but because bureaucratic decisions can never anticipate all the economic contingencies which a free market holds in some kind of harmony. A nation might preserve all its essential political liberties and yet become economically sterile. Society will always face the problem of "achieving the harmony of the whole without destroying the vitality of the parts." We don't know exactly how to achieve this end and must therefore proceed circumspectly. We only know that a completely free market lacks the self-regulating power once ascribed to it, and that too inclusive planning destroys the flexibility which a healthy economy requires.

The extension of political control over economic life may also be unwise if it rests upon the assumption that man's social needs, whether for basic security, housing, education, or health, are determinate. All human needs are indeterminate. As a consequence inordinate demands are bound to be made upon any political scheme which offers "free" services. A modern democracy must provide health insurance for all of its citizens; that is one way in which the sovereign power of a government ought to be used. It may well be, however, that the British health scheme contains too many Marxist assumptions about the determinate character of human needs. The health schemes of our most progressive unions are more circumspect, and we may hope that state-supported schemes will be equally so.

The highly pragmatic type of progressive democracy developing in America, which is condemned by the reactionaries as a halfway house to communism and criticized even by British Socialists as lacking in dogmatic rigor, may prove better able to preserve democratic justice in a technical society than any of the alternatives of right or left. This can be our answer to Europeans who criticize the ambiguities of our political life. To our own reactionary critics we must emphasize the common elements in the democratic life of Europe and America. The democratic movement in America is not slipping into totalitarianism. It is the only effective safeguard against totalitarianism.

London *Evening Standard*

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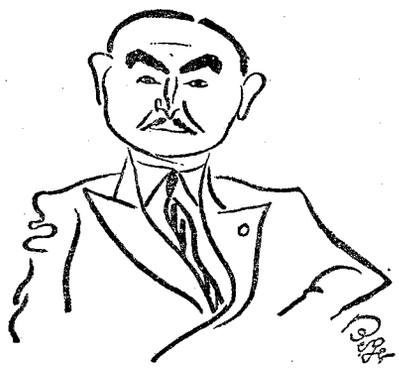
Morse Versus Morse

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Ore.

TO WHAT extent should a man in public office compromise his convictions to stay there? This is a perennial dilemma of American politics, and just now it seems to be troubling one of the most able and attractive personalities ever dispatched to the national capital from the Pacific Northwest.



Senator Morse

Wayne L. Morse, the forty-nine-year-old liberal Republican Senator from the rock-ribbed state of Oregon, has come out against the President's bill for a Columbia Valley Authority. He has declared that a CVA would put the Northwest "in a strait-jacket" and that the region must be spared such "bureaucratic paternalism."

Many residents of the Northwest find it difficult to believe that Morse, in his heart, meant these words. The New York *Times* has described the CVA as "an extension of the TVA principle," and Morse has always supported the TVA. Indeed, he recently asked, "How are we to measure, for example, the increase in the standard of living of thousands upon thousands of people in the Tennessee Valley which was made possible by that great project?" Can the same man, people wonder, really view the CVA as "a strait-jacket" and the TVA as a "great project"?

Those who have hoped Morse might be an independent political spirit in the mold of George W. Norris or the elder La Follette also wonder whether a liberal can retain his principles and survive in the Republican Party. The Oregon political scene offers an excellent opportunity to examine this question, for the state has long been completely dominated by the G. O. P. Not since 1878 have the Democrats controlled an Oregon legislature; the last Democratic United States Senator was elected in 1914, and only four Democrats have been sent to Congress in the past seventy years.

Morse's problem is to be renominated in the approaching primaries after having voted in the Senate for every phase of what his fellow-Republicans call the "welfare state." The CVA is the principal local issue, and the ranks of Oregon Republicans are heavily infiltrated with men and women on utility pay rolls. The Hood River *Daily Sun*, a Republican newspaper, commented, "It is unfortunate that a power company or any other special interest should move in on a political party and force its beliefs." Some people believe that Morse's condemnation of the CVA was a sop to conservatives in his own party. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that only a few days before Morse announced his position the president of the Oregon state senate, William E. Walsh, had indicated that he might challenge Morse in the primary on the CVA issue. As Walsh is an all-out adversary of the CVA, the ground was cut from under his candidacy when Morse took the same side.

Oregon's unreconstructed Republicans, many of whom thought Teddy Roosevelt went too far with his conservation policies, regard the Fair Deal with the affection that a water buffalo feels for a Bengal tiger. But Morse, their Senator, has supported the Fair Deal when some of President Truman's supposed adherents were deserting it. Morse was one of fifteen members of the Senate to stand up bravely for confirmation of Leland Olds. He was one of seven Republicans to try to do away with the basing-point freight monopoly. In fact, his voting record last year was identical with that of Scott Lucas, the Democratic majority leader.

With a view to the 1950 primaries Morse began making concessions locally in 1948. He campaigned for the reelection of his Senate colleague, Guy Cordon, an outright reactionary and isolationist. Cordon does not support the Vandenberg wing of the party on foreign policy or the mild Saltonstall-Knowland group on domestic questions. During the recent session Cordon and Morse voted alike on only one of fifteen major bills. Cordon's opponent was a young Democratic state legislator, a C. I. O. logger, who had voted at the Oregon capital for all the things Morse stood for nationally. When Morse was asked why he was indorsing Cordon, with whom he disagreed on fundamental issues, he replied, somewhat obliquely, "I'm a Republican, and I'm not going to foul my own nest."

That Morse is basically liberal there can be no doubt. After the Olds nomination had been decisively rejected, Morse presented to the Senate with considerable militance a tribute to the ex-commissioner penned by the staff of the Federal Power Commission. When the Eightieth Congress was at work, Morse was one of two

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Republican Senators who voted to sustain the President's veto of a bill removing 750,000 truck drivers, professional people, and salesmen from the scope of the Social Security Act.

In the matter of his relationship with the state's incredibly mossback Republican machine, Morse has had three courses open to him. He could remain aloof from the organization, as did the urbane Senator Charles L. McNary, an advocate of public-power projects. He could fight it, as Norris did in Nebraska and as Senator George D. Aiken has fought the antediluvian Proctor organization in Vermont. Or he could place himself at the machine's disposal, bartering a liberal voice in Washington for political security at home.

EVEN voters who accepted Morse's attack on the CVA as a necessary bit of expediency could scarcely believe their ears when he told the annual state convention of the Farm Bureau Federation that he would be glad to join in the 1950 campaign to reelect Douglas McKay as governor of Oregon. McKay is the symbol of successive G. O. P. state administrations under which Oregon's school lands have been looted, the state has become a hotbed of pari-mutuel gambling, and public housing has been discouraged—with 430,000 inhabitants Portland has had fewer permanent units built than neighboring Tacoma with 135,000. As a member of the state senate, McKay took a stand directly opposed to that of Morse in the United States Senate. He voted to restrict the activities of trade unions, for a sales tax, to increase income levies in the lower brackets, and to deny unemployment compensation to employees in small industrial plants. Furthermore, McKay has been part of a political cabal which for forty years has flouted the provision of the state constitution requiring reapportionment of the legislature every decade. Oregon has not been redistricted since 1909. Five thousand backwoods voters have equal representation with eighty thousand city residents.

But perhaps the most shocking result of unrestricted Republican rule in Oregon has been the fate of the timber on school lands. Of 4,203,000 acres of forests set aside for the schools only 765,000 acres are left. The school fund has benefited to the extent of $9,944,604. In the state of Washington, where the two major political parties have competed almost evenly for office, 1,756,863 acres remain of the original 2,298,799 acres of school forests, and the return to the school fund has been five times that in Oregon, or $49,318,238. In Oregon innumerable Republican legislatures tolerated a loophole in the land law big enough to accommodate a phalanx of speculators. The trees had to be sold at competitive auction, but the law made no reference to the land on which the trees grew. School forests have therefore been sold in private deals to men with the right political connections.

In 1946 Morse campaigned for Harry Cain against Senator Hugh Mitchell in Washington. "I am satisfied," Morse told a Tacoma rally, "that Harry Cain will be a great asset in the United States Senate in support of those things which we middle-of-the-road liberals in the Republican Party must fight for with all our energy." This was one of the most mistaken predictions of all time. Harry Cain has proved to be a raucous reactionary. He voted against European aid, conducted a last-ditch fight against the housing bill, and led the resistance to liberalizing the displaced-persons bill to admit refugee Jews and Catholics. Washington's Republican governor, Arthur B. Langlie, will not even be seen with Cain at a party meeting. Morse now defends his praise of Cain by saying that Cain had been a fairly competent mayor of Tacoma and had no other record. That of course is true, but Morse cannot enter such a plea when he takes the stump for the G. O. P. in Oregon. The party has a record in executive office and in the legislature, extending back through many generations, which no liberal could possibly swallow. Morse is of course aware of all this but is willing to sacrifice his prestige as a liberal to the continuance of one-party government in Oregon.

Ironically, the G. O. P. machine needs Wayne Morse today more than he needs the machine. Owing to the volume of immigration in recent years Oregon is no longer safely Republican. The population has risen 59 per cent since 1940, the largest proportionate increase experienced by any state. Most of the newcomers are working people, and when they begin to vote, even Oregon may go Democratic; though the state has 650,000 more people than in 1940, the number who went to the polls in 1948 was up only 35,000. It may not be long before the Republican Party will require the protective cloak of a great liberal. In some of the most conservative counties the registration is already showing a decisively Democratic trend.

It seems probable that Morse's criticism of CVA, plus his indorsement of Governor McKay, has ambushed the G. O. P. irreconcilables. In addition, McKay has indorsed Morse. A political marriage of convenience has been arranged between the Senator who voted consistently for the "welfare state" and the Governor who thinks the "welfare state" is ruining the country. Once he has been renominated and reelected, Morse's friends expect him to continue his liberal voting record in the Senate. But he will have helped to saddle his own state with the sort of reaction which has given the people of Oregon a per capita income of $1,302 for 1948, as compared with $1,453 in Washington, which has very similar resources.

Wayne Morse's recent acts will have little effect on his reputation as a Senator. They may, however, severely limit any further political ambitions for which his natural liberalism and intelligence might qualify him.

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Cartels über Alles

BY CAROLUS

Bonn, December 30

WEST GERMANY'S capital on the Rhine, a little one-horse town untouched by any breath from the world of great events, sends a constant stream of the most contradictory news into the domestic and foreign press. What yesterday was white, today is black and tomorrow will be white again; yesterday yes, today no, tomorrow both yes and no. Official statements are followed by official denials. Denials of denials are issued now by Bonn, now by Washington, and are in turn denied by London or Paris. In the end neither correspondents nor newspaper readers know where imagination leaves off and truth begins. Dr. Adenauer declares solemnly, takes back solemnly, is wrongly understood, and sets things right until twice two becomes five minus one. In the end no one can make head or tail of the situation.

A few weeks ago the Chancellor told the correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun* that the government wanted foreigners to contribute 40 per cent of the capital investment of the Ruhr industries. On the following day he said the reporter had misunderstood him. Later it developed that this was what the Vereinigte Stahlwerke wanted, the coal, iron, and steel trust which controls the industry of the Ruhr and Rhine region and in consequence the economic life of the West German state. A memorandum embodying the steel trust's plans for financing its future operations was turned over to the Allied High Commissioners by Dr. Adenauer as expressing the wishes of the West German government. On the basis of this memorandum American capital investment in the Ruhr will be increased and the German-French-Belgian-Luxembourg coal and steel cartel will be built up in accordance with the plans of M. François-Poncet, the French High Commissioner. François-Poncet was the French ambassador in Berlin in Hitler's time, up to 1939, and must know better than most people how much German rearmament in the period 1935-39 profited the gentlemen of the Comité des Forges. The American Commissioner, McCloy, whose family is related by marriage to Adenauer's, may have critics in the State Department. François-Poncet is free of such checks and can pull the strings as he pleases behind the scenes at Bonn.

Dr. Adenauer opened the discussion of German rearmament in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* because someone had told him that President Truman read this paper every morning at the breakfast table. "Germany should make a contribution to its own defense," he said there cautiously; "then it will be not only possible but necessary for the United States to include Germany in its military-aid program." Adenauer had undoubtedly been encouraged by the speeches of Clay and Montgomery; hints must also have been dropped very quietly by Johnson, McCloy, and François-Poncet, to judge from the way the Chancellor bared his innermost feelings in the Cleveland paper. Then the storm broke, within Germany and abroad. The great majority of Germans recoil from the thought of the country's being militarized again. Even ardent nationalists who would gladly fight Russia tomorrow have no mind to serve as mercenary soldiers of the Allies. Adenauer had to backstep; for the second time he had been misunderstood by an American correspondent. Solemnly he announced in Parliament that he was at one with the German people in rejecting any form of remilitarization or rearmament. The spokesmen of all parties echoed his words with the exception of those on the farthest right, who said they wanted an army only when the last foreign soldier had left German soil. The most noteworthy statement was that of the Social Democrats. First it flayed the government for choosing the columns of a foreign newspaper as its platform rather than the National Assembly and then sharply criticized the views expressed:

> The reference to the military training and arming of the so-called people's police in the Russian zone is no justification for Dr. Adenauer. . . . This police is the instrument of the occupying power. Its primary purpose is to suppress freedom in the eastern zone. . . . The division of Germany is the result of differences among the occupation powers. Every political action of the Federated Republic and its authoritative representatives should be designed, not to widen the split, but if possible to close it. For responsible spokesmen of the republic to take part in a discussion of rearmament when they have absolutely no power of decision in the matter is simply to increase the existing international tension.

"The specter of West Germany's rearmament," said the Manchester *Guardian*, "with which the Allies have always enjoyed threatening the Soviets," has been laid for the time being. That it will rise again in one form or another is the firm belief of the people of West Germany, who put little stock in the official proscriptions of a German army that have issued from Washington, London, and Paris. It is significant that such a convinced anti-Russian and nationalist as the celebrated Pastor Nie-

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möller, president of the highest evangelical Church Council, declared after the debate in Parliament: "Rather than have Germans from the West shoot Germans from the East the people will choose a united Communist Germany." The example of China, which for all the shortness of our memories in these times is still so portentous, has evidently not made the Allied strategists think twice about their German policy. The defense of West Germany, like that of all Western Europe, against Soviet Russia and communism is not a military but a social problem. And neither Dr. Adenauer nor his foreign advisers have the slightest understanding of what the task entails.

UNDER the tutelage of its Allied protectors Bonn is steering a course in economic and social matters that must make Moscow rub its hands with satisfaction. The very choice of this little provincial town instead of Frankfurt for the capital of the republic was imposed on the people by Dr. Adenauer and his industrialist masters, against the will of the majority. The disgraceful maneuvers by which it was accomplished, at great expense to the people, dealt a severe blow to democracy in West Germany. The demands of organized labor for a share in determining the social and economic configuration of the new state and for the nationalization of key industries were circumvented with the help of the occupation powers. Control of heavy industry by the workers would have been much more effective than the dismantlings as a guaranty against the eventual conversion of the Ruhr plants to war purposes. When Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, visited the Ruhr early in December, he said he was shocked to see how the British and American authorities had handed over control to "the same old gang who helped Hitler to power and helped him to wage war." He added, "This is a real threat to democracy in Germany and the world."

Yet Walter Reuther had apparently not seen all there was to see. Otherwise he would surely have reported that Adenauer's authoritarian rule was putting West Germany back to the year 1890, that the political and economic policies of the present government have placed the burden of the last war and the German catastrophe squarely on the shoulders of the poverty-stricken masses, that the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer. The words with which Napoleon III gave a free hand to the groups which had helped him to power—*Enrichissez-vous*—could be carved over the portal of the West German state. Its economic principles are summed up in the slogans "free private enterprise," "free play of forces."

As a result, profits of 200 and 300 per cent in industry and trade are the order of the day. Anyone who sells beneath the price fixed by industry and big business is boycotted. Interest of 9 and 10 per cent is paid on private capital loans. Millionaires are springing up like mushrooms. The tax-reform measure introduced in Parliament by the government provides that people who earn a miserable 2,400 marks a year—that is, the majority of the workers—will pay 8 marks less a year, those who earn 24,000 marks will pay 2,323 marks less, and those who have an annual income of 60,000 marks will give 10,600 marks less to the government. Cartels are being formed again: in Cologne thirty-two economic groups which control 90 per cent of West German production have joined to form a close industrial association. This drew a cry of despair from the *Rhine-Neckar Zeitung*: "Economic democracy has now finally been buried." Dozens of new newspapers are appearing every month to speak for the political and economic interests of the industrialists who support them. Among them of course are some of the former Nazi papers, such as the notorious *Stürmer*. None of them are openly anti-Semitic or nationalistic; oh no, today they display a fresh-baked neo-democracy, neo-pacifism, neo-internationalism.

Before the war the capital stock of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke amounted officially to 462,000,000 marks; today, in spite of the war damage and the dismantlings, estimated at 80 per cent, and in spite of the inflation it amounts to 575,000,000 marks. Who is the chairman of the board of directors? The Cologne banker Dr. Pferdemenges, an intimate friend of Dr. Adenauer, a deputy in the National Assembly, and the financial backer of the government parties. This same Dr. Pferdemenges was distinguished, at the dinner in honor of Dean Acheson, by being placed next to the American Secretary of State. On September 30, 1949, Vereinigte Stahlwerke stock was quoted at 16¾; by November 14 it had climbed to 44½; and on November 23, the day after the agreement with the Allies was signed at Petersberg, it reached 71. The Klöckner Company, one of the largest Ruhr firms, boasted on December 11: "In spite of war and post-war damage our assets and capital stock can be regarded as saved." Mannesman, Rheinstahl, Hösch, Klöckner—all the great firms have made a sensational recovery, and their shares are almost as high as those of Vereinigte Stahlwerke.

In the middle of December the director of the German division of the London Foreign Office, Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, suddenly appeared in Düsseldorf. "In a private capacity" and "with no ulterior economic purpose" he talked with thirty leading Ruhr and Rhineland industrialists and bankers. Some days later the London *Daily Herald* reported the equally secret visit to London of Walter Schwede, a director of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke. "French, German, and British heavy industry," warned the organ of the British Labor Party, "is planning a huge capitalistic supertrust"; and it added, "The

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British steel barons are opposing nationalization, the Germans are trying to prevent the dissolution of the cartels, the French are working with both." And all, it might have said, have the aid of American capital.

This is the latest phase of West Germany's economic recovery. And it has only begun. Whether or not British capital shares in the Ruhr profits, whether the Comité des Forges decides to go it alone or to divide with the English steel interests, whether a Continental western bloc or a West European superbloc emerges—whatever develops, the German steel and coal barons will benefit. They have already been placed firmly on their feet. As they regain their old dominance, German democracy, and much else, will be destroyed—that is the gloomy prospect with which the unhappy New Year is beginning.

Leon Keyserling's New Look

BY BARR KING

Washington, January 7

IN THE Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers to the President, Mr. Keyserling presented his version of the fundamentals of an appropriate economic philosophy for business and government. His prescription is not new to students of economic philosophy; the startling thing is to find these sentiments expressed by one of the few New Dealers left in high official circles.

The essence of the New Deal was a critical attitude toward all institutional arrangements which made for economic suffering. The New Deal had no unified philosophy; it was always pragmatic. Its opposite was the stand-pat, head-in-the-sand view that there was nothing so wrong in existing institutions that a little time would not cure it. New Dealers called upon reasonable men to recognize problems and do something about them. Reasonable men could differ about what remedy was called for but hardly doubt that big changes were necessary.

The gist of Mr. Keyserling's new attitude, of his latest self-proclaimed "revelation," is his soothing assurance that now all is well. The free-enterprise system is doing all right. No radical (Mr. Keyserling's word) changes are necessary, because "our unique combination of free enterprise and free government has moved so rapidly toward raising the general standard of living." We already have "the solid institutional structure to realize in full the promise of America." Thus Keyserling chooses deliberately and candidly to place his emphasis "upon the vast progress which has already been registered and upon the assets consequently accrued." This may be a perfectly good position, though it is strange to hear it formulated by the advance guard of the Fair Deal. If the Fair Deal means anything, it means that we do not rest on our haunches and contemplate the past glories of achievement, however substantial they appear in retrospect.

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Liberals—Mr. Keyserling suggests that the majority of our people are in this category, but that is doubtful—have always argued that the condition of further progress is prompt attention to present deficiencies. They believe that complacency, not sin, is the real obstacle to progress. Liberals also reject Mr. Keyserling's assumption that our technical economic plant is adequate to our expanding needs. Scarcely a year ago the same Mr. Keyserling would have resigned rather than admit that "we do not suffer from underdevelopment or impoverishment of basic plant and equipment." The great advocate of a steel-expansion program has indeed changed, if not his mind, at least his emphasis. Is it not appropriate therefore, to put the question: What happened, Mr. Keyserling?

If the steel-capacity question is too intricate and controversial for the uninitiated, Mr. Keyserling may find it easier to explain away the facts concerning the condition of low-income families in 1948 presented by the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report. Those facts should send cold shivers up the spine of any "liberal" who maintains that our rate of economic progress is satisfactory. But Mr. Keyserling does not stress the undeniable poverty of one-third of our population.

Throughout his report Mr. Keyserling pursues his new emphasis relentlessly. With occasional nods toward his old companions of the New Deal and the Fair Deal he proceeds to develop his new philosophy—new only to Mr. Keyserling. This matter of emphasis is all-important. We all work from a common core of facts; those which we choose to emphasize determine our own particular philosophy or policy. No one questions Mr. Keyserling's right to pick his facts and emphasis, but he can scarcely object if his old friends raise their eyebrows at the result.

MR. KEYSERLING'S purpose in drafting the Annual Report was to develop his views on the role of government in the economic sphere. These were hoary with age in the twenties. Mr. Coolidge certainly

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agreed that the function of government is to promote business confidence by the assembling of facts and sympathetic exhortations by top officials. Mr. Keyserling regards it as an event of "historic" proportions for the President to act upon—actually to proclaim—"the proposition that our business system has further opportunities which transcend even those it has seized upon in the best previous decades." He feels that this "sentiment on the part of important officials . . . would have a controlling effect." Is it impertinent to ask whether there has ever been a time of prosperity in which similar statements of equally "historic" proportions were not enunciated by our Chief of State—or our Secretary of Commerce?

Mr. Keyserling goes on to elaborate his new views on the proper function of government. He is careful to say that the concern of government should never be with the distribution of the social product—or at least that the "primary emphasis upon general growth offers a more workable formula." Thus is spelled out the modern trickle-down theory of social progress. If the economic machine is induced, by appropriate incentives, to expand, the lot of the poorer members of our society will be alleviated automatically. This is very comforting, because emphasis on the depressed part of our population is unpleasant and has been known to generate radical notions. Here Mr. Keyserling is skating on thin ice. Any analysis of the causes of poverty shows specific forces operating to reproduce poverty even under conditions of prosperity. These forces must be countered squarely—if one is concerned with amelioration and not merely with ladling out shibboleths.

Having dismissed the Lowest Third with a nod to liberals but with "primary emphasis" on the "general growth" doctrine, Mr. Keyserling goes on to elaborate his views—more accurately, Mr. Sawyer's—on economic balance. Since no one can be against "balance," he is here on solid ground. But he does not explain how balance is to be maintained or how "the expansion of consumption opportunities at an even more rapid rate than the expansion of investment" is to be achieved. He does not regard efforts to attain this goal as contradictory to the prohibition of governmental activity to redistribute the social product. In the last decade it has been customary for "liberal" economists to concede the need for greater equalization of incomes in order to promote consumption spending among lower-income groups. This doctrine has never been popular in business circles and probably would not be classified by Mr. Keyserling as "affirmative facilitation." The role of government in achieving or restoring "balance" is very limited in Mr. Keyserling's opinion. He rejects utterly the view that deficit spending can ever cure a depression. With the *Wall Street Journal* he feels that the important business of government is to create "a climate favorable to business." This view is not entirely novel, and since extensive commentary may be found elsewhere—even under Mr. Keyserling's name when he was of different mind—let us pass on to his reflections on the welfare state.

IT WOULD be unfair to say that Mr. Keyserling is "agin'" the government's welfare activities. Many business men even, as he points out, "on entirely unselfish grounds" are becoming enthusiastic about comprehensive social-security legislation. The important thing, Mr. Keyserling maintains, is to get away from slogans about welfare and to recognize that "our public programs are supported out of the production record achieved by the economy as a whole." "The support of people who are too old to work or who are unemployed or ill does not create wealth. It is not like the production of goods and services." In short, these welfare activities are non-productive costs which must not be incurred unless we can afford it. The question whether our economy can stand the cost is really the crucial one. If this view sounds more like Senator Taft than Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mr. Keyserling would probably reply that facts are facts.

But is the problem so simple? Does anyone believe that providing for the ill by building hospitals, for the young by building schools, for the unemployed through public works is really non-productive? Could we afford the TVA in the thirties? The simple distinction between wealth-producing and wealth-consuming activities went out of fashion in economics in the last century. Is this the best that Mr. Keyserling can provide in the way of new ideas for a new generation? Even Mr. Keyserling in his most despairing moment does not *really* believe that government activities are non-productive. He is not truly concerned with eliminating government from economic life but rather in assuring business that public policy shall never, never—so long as he is around—be "misconstrued as any leaning toward 'blue-printing the economy' or 'central planning'."

By the time one reaches page 23 of the Annual Report, one can guess the purpose for which this amazing document was written. Mr. Keyserling has not been exactly popular with business. Apparently this has not resulted from honest differences of opinion but from widespread misunderstanding of where Mr. Keyserling really stands. Now he is setting the record straight. It appears that he has never had any of those odious New Deal opinions after all. He dislikes planning in principle and thinks all government activity should be held to a minimum. In short, he rejects the theory of the New Deal.

It thus appears that Mr. Keyserling is advancing his claim to the chairmanship of the council in order to secure the business community against the assaults of the Fair Deal.

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Czechoslovakia Revisited

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

II. The Token Terror

Prague, December 21

"IS PEACE enough? Is prosperity enough?" asked Comrade Vojacek—as I shall call him—when we were talking intimately one day. "Of course I am a member of the party, couldn't keep my job if I weren't. But why must I go to Soviet films when I want to see 'Hamlet'? They sold eight thousand tickets for 'Hamlet' in six hours, and then on instructions from Comrade Lebedev, the official Soviet film representative, the showing of the film was canceled 'for technical reasons.' I have not been forbidden to go into the British reading-room, but I have been *advised* not to do so; I have also been *advised* not to listen to the BBC. Mind you, I voted Communist in 1946, but I wasn't expecting that all this would happen. Why should I be placed in a position where I can't say no when I am 'asked' to sign birthday greetings to Stalin? Why must I inevitably say yes when I am asked whether I want to take two Russian lessons a week? I tell you, those people *want* the Iron Curtain."

Comrade Vojacek was disgruntled. Pointing to the Christmas Books number of *Lidove Noviny*, he said: "Just look at this! Last year they had a bona fide 'Gallup poll' on 'the ten most popular books of the year,' and half of those chosen were Western. Now they have three lists of ten books—Ten Books That Will Help to Bring Peace to the World, Ten Books That Will Help Us in Our Life, Ten Books That Bring You the Greatest Joy. Seven in each of the first two lists are Soviet books, and five in the third list—Stalin, Molotov, Vishinsky, Fadeyev, Ehrenburg, and so on. The one and only Western book among the thirty is Albert Kahn's 'Great Conspiracy.'" Comrade Vojacek is a Czech intellectual who, like so many others, voted for the Communists in 1946. But the intellectuals, at any rate, now feel that things have become too tough. Their old amiable conception of a "people's democracy" has given way to the feeling that it is a stern dictatorship of the proletariat.

There is no terror in Prague as there was in Russia during the civil-war years, or as there was in Germany under the Nazis, but there is what might be called a "token terror": one man gets locked up, and a thousand others are made to feel nervous, wondering if they haven't done or said something to bring upon them the 6 a. m. knock on the door. (Here it is 6 a. m., not 3 a. m. as elsewhere.) I shall be cautious in what I say about the "terror." One hears in Prague all kinds of figures about the number of people arrested in recent months. A careful inquiry into the whole question seems to justify the phrase "token terror."

THERE have been three lots of repressive "actions." The first was against the underground and affected a surprisingly small number of people. One Czech friend said to me: "If we did not have a very important resistance movement even under the Germans, how do you expect us to have a large underground directed, not against Germans, but against fellow-Czechs?" While the action against the underground seems to have been a small affair, it was pretty ruthless, using third-degree methods and culminating in a number of death sentences. But in the past nine months, as far as I can ascertain, only about ten men have been sentenced to death (among them General Pika), three to life imprisonment (among them General Kutlvasr), and perhaps twenty to twenty years' imprisonment or more. The second "action" was a purge: thousands of people were thrown out of their jobs or demoted in one way or another. The third, which apparently still continues, was directed against what is called the "private sector"—that is, uncompromising private traders, nationalized business men, black-marketeers, non-conformist lawyers and doctors, and different varieties of pro-Benes "suspects." By virtue of the law on labor camps of October 25, 1948, such persons are picked up, usually at 6 a. m., and sent off to labor camps for "reeducation."

As a rule these arrests, made on the recommendation of regional committees, involve a maximum of two years in a labor camp. From what I can gather, the conditions of work in the camps are not as a rule inhuman; before being sent to do heavy labor the prisoners pass a medical test, and there is a system of payment by results; the "better" prisoners are even allowed occasional leave. Apparently nobody starves, or is beaten to death, or disappears, but one may well be shocked by the principle of the thing, especially when one hears that some of these arrests are made because somebody has had an eye on the victim's apartment or wants to pay off a grudge. Whether in these circumstances model citizens emerge from the camps at the end of the two years may be seriously doubted. The number of people

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ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's *correspondent in France, reports frequently on Eastern Europe. His third article in this series will deal with education, the church, and relations with Germany.*

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who have been so picked up—a considerable proportion during last summer and autumn—has not been officially revealed, but according to reliable estimates it amounts to about 5,000 in Prague and perhaps another 5,000 in the rest of Bohemia and Moravia.

In addition to slackers and non-conformists, quite a number of party members have been arrested lately—a fact referred to by Slansky, secretary general of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, in his recent speech. The moral effect has been serious. How often during these weeks have I noticed that shifty, furtive look in people's eyes, a look of ill-suppressed fear! I was particularly conscious of it after the New York *Herald Tribune*, unjustifiably, bracketed my name with that of Mr. Zilliacus.* "Hm, yes," an official would say, fidgeting uneasily in his chair, "you've just come from, from Belgrade?" "No," I would say, "I have just come from London." "Yes, but—." Another old Communist acquaintance to whom I telephoned spluttered that he was busy and would be for weeks, and promptly hung up. However, not everybody was quite so absurd.

Rudolf Slansky

BUT one thing is certain. Nothing in Czechoslovakia today is worse than to be suspected of Titoism. Slansky was extremely violent on the subject, saying that the utmost vigilance must be exercised by all Communists against anyone showing the slightest symptom of the disease. In the West, Titoism may be considered an intellectual attitude; in Czechoslovakia it is tantamount to high treason. One must say that, in their own ruthless way, the Russians have been extremely smart in stamping out Titoism in the "people's democracies." Tito and Pijade and Djilas can produce all the arguments in the world to show that they are right and that Moscow is wrong. That, in the official Czech view, is totally irrelevant; one simply does not argue about the merits of Titoism any more than about the merits of murder. The purpose of the Rajk trial was to demonstrate that to be a Titoite was to be an agent of American imperialism plotting against the unity of the Soviet bloc.

I asked one prominent Czech Communist whether he, and the Czechs generally, believed that Tito had been an agent of American imperialism; had he not, after all, nearly gone to war with the Americans and British over Trieste? "Agent, agent, well, that's a *façon de parler*; one doesn't take literally everything that was said at the Rajk trial. However, in terms of foreign policy, the conclusions we were forced to draw from the Rajk trial were perfectly logical. We have no choice. Yugoslavia will inevitably, sooner or later, become an American satellite; our economy and our political future are bound up with the Soviet Union. We cannot, as a Socialist country, ignore the U. S. S. R.'s thirty years' experience, nor can we do without its assistance, both military and economic. That is, of course, if we want to go on with this Socialist experiment. And there is nobody in Czechoslovakia who will say we do not." He added that Tito, who was "a megalomaniac," had got himself into a dreadful jam. "We had Yugoslavia's industrial development all mapped out; we Czechs were going to help Yugoslavia in a very big way in return for food and metals, and now they are at the mercy of the Americans. And just look at the Yugoslav standard of living and economic progress compared with ours!"

The Czechs have traditionally liked the Yugoslavs, who have many qualities which the Czechs lack. Tito himself was popular as a great war leader. But my guess, though I may be wrong, is that just because the Czechs are such reasonable and rather unromantic people their country is the most surely Tito-proof of all the countries of Eastern Europe. Also, despite Slansky's stern warning, I doubt whether there are any strong Tito tendencies among the Czech Communists. Except during the occupation they have always been a legal party in Czechoslovakia, with solid pro-Moscow traditions and a reluctance to depart from the established party line. Perhaps there are deviations on a low level, but I have found no basis for Claude Bourdet's assertion in *Combat*—a paper reflecting the French intellectual attraction to Titoism—that "imported" Communists like Slansky and Geminder were eclipsing "native" Communists like Gottwald and Zapotocky. Surprises are always possible, but if one can be certain of anything, it is of the pro-Moscow unity of the Czech Communist leadership.

As for the rank and file, many no doubt keep their fingers crossed when they read about the fascist reptiles of Belgrade, Sofia, and Budapest—before long Warsaw will be included—but they are not likely to do anything silly themselves. That no mass trial of Titoites is contemplated in Czechoslovakia is, indeed, suggested by the statements of Brankov at the Rajk trial. While he asserted categorically that Titoist gangs were operating in Poland and Bulgaria, he sounded very uncertain about Czechoslovakia when pressed by the public prosecutor. Rumor has it, however, that though there will be no Titoist trial here, a big American-spy trial is in the offing.

*The British leftist M. P. who after a visit to Yugoslavia last summer became an ardent partisan of Tito.

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Del Vayo—Indo-China Next

FRENCH anxiety about Indo-China does not mean that the war against Viet Nam is a popular one. For two years the impression has prevailed abroad that the opposition to the wasteful expenditure of men and money in defense of one of the last great bastions of the French empire came chiefly from the extreme left, that agitation against the war was one of the Communists' favorite means of embarrassing the government after they withdrew from the Ramadier Cabinet. This impression was false, like many of America's ideas about Europe. Opposition to the war has been just as strong in the Socialist Party, though various Socialist congresses were persuaded to keep silent on the subject by the group which wanted the party to remain in the government. If the Socialists should insist on quitting Indo-China, they would bring on an immediate ministerial crisis and the definite collapse of the experiment of the Third Force. At the last special congress, held in the Mutualité in Paris on December 13 and 14, the bulk of the membership showed more strongly than ever before that they favored a truce in Indo-China, to be followed by international mediation to assure the end of hostilities and the start of direct peace negotiations between Ho Chi Minh and France.

Outside of the political parties, a number of the most distinguished French intellectuals, headed by André Gide and Sartre, have recently addressed to President Auriol a demand for the withdrawal of France from Indo-China.

The most amusing contribution to the discussion of this issue has been offered by the extreme right. Its organ in Paris, the daily *l'Aurore*, a worthy colleague of the Chicago *Tribune* and the New York *Daily Mirror* in calling for use of the big stick in Asia, sent to Indo-China one of its most talented staff members, O. P. Guilbert. In concluding his report M. Guilbert wrote: "The fighting must be stopped. This country is too far away to have any chance of winning, and even if we could win we should not be allowed to profit from it." He warned his countrymen not to rely on the support of Washington; it was possible, he said, that persons in the United States interested in obtaining any kind of new market would finally make a loan to the Viet Namese which would be utilized to improve their chances of beating the French.

Editorially *l'Aurore* expressed disagreement with its special envoy. "Cease fighting? No. Except in one case: if the Americans refuse to back us up. Everything depends on their attitude, as we see more clearly every day." Cynical admissions that in the last analysis it is Washington which rules Europe are not unusual in the European press, but it is surprising to find this view expressed in a paper that speaks for extreme French nationalism.

Supporters of the war in Indo-China believe that America would not permit the fall of such an important anti-Communist fortress, since after Indo-China, Siam would be lost, and then Malaya, Burma, and India; "later"—to quote *l'Aurore* again—"the bolshevization of Australia and New Zealand would follow and the final loss of the Pacific area."

Unmindful of these black prophecies, the Quai d'Orsay plays its hand as best it can, using as its trump card Bao Dai, the pasteboard emperor. On December 29 the French High Commissioner in Saigon signed an agreement with Bao Dai providing that the state of Viet Nam should have limited dominion status in the French Union and transferring to Viet Nam the administration of justice, the police, education, bases, and garrisons.

To enlist British support for Bao Dai the French ambassador in London, M. Massigli, visited Ernest Bevin just before the latter's departure for the conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers, which opens in Colombo on January 9. This conference, like all Commonwealth affairs, will be purely consultative, and it is doubtful that Mr. Bevin will commit himself too passionately in favor of the French-made monarch. If he did, he would encounter the opposition of Nehru, who on his last visit to London let it be clearly understood that he did not believe in the representative character or the stability of Bao Dai's government and who suggested that Britain might well advise France to follow the example set by Britain in India. The fact that Britain has since extended full recognition to Communist China reduces still more the likelihood of any strong indorsement of Bao Dai.

The French have not entirely discarded the idea of trying again to reach an agreement with Ho Chi Minh. Just as Chinese Communist troops arrived at the Indo-Chinese border, the Viet Namese leader gave an interesting interview to Sol Sanders, correspondent of the anti-Communist newspaper *Franc-Tireur*. In the course of it Ho again expressed his belief that Viet Nam could remain neutral between the United States and Russia. He added that the people of Viet Nam would be willing to cooperate loyally with France if the French government would "cease to support the traitors to our country"—meaning Bao Dai. His conditions were simple—the immediate withdrawal of French troops and the opening of negotiations which would assure the independence and unity of Viet Nam. To prove his neutrality in the dispute between East and West, Ho Chi Minh recalled that "up to the present" he had not entered into commercial or diplomatic relations with the Chinese Communists.

What finally happens in Indo-China will depend largely on the development of American policy toward China. President Truman's remarks at last Thursday's press conference indicate a more realistic approach to the situation than the feverish suggestions of Hoover and Knowland. If some sort of understanding between the Peiping government and Washington is achieved, the United States will lose interest in defeating the leftist regime in Viet Nam, and France will find it impossible to maintain itself in Indo-China. An end of the cold war in Asia is bound to lead to a diminution of the tension in Europe and finally to a reconciliation between East and West.

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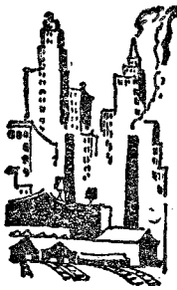

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Canada's Uneasy Prosperity

REVIEWING Canadian prospects for 1950, C. D. Howe, Dominion Minister of Trade and Commerce, said recently that there was every reason to believe that the general level of business activity would not be very different from that in 1949. If this forecast proves accurate, Canadians may look forward to a very prosperous year, for in 1949 production, national income, and employment were at, or close to, their all-time peaks. The post-war building and investment boom continued and received a new fillip from the rapid expansion of the Alberta oil fields to which I referred last week. Unemployment was negligible, with only 2 per cent of the labor force out of work at midsummer, when the rate here was 6 per cent.

For Canada's farmers, however, it was not quite such a good year as the one previous. Drought in the prairie provinces accompanied by insect infestation at the beginning of the growing season cut major cereal crops below their 1948 level, and British difficulties reduced sales of such important products as bacon and cheese.

Financially the Canadian government has continued to improve its position. Despite large tax reductions since the war, budget surpluses in the last three years have exceeded estimates, making possible a 13 per cent reduction in the national debt. Not many countries in the world can match this record.

But although Canada's financial position is a strong one and its immediate outlook fairly rosy, there are elements in the economic situation which justify some anxiety. A country endowed with great natural resources, Canada is by no means self-sufficient. It has greatly expanded industry in recent years, but it is still fundamentally a producer of food and raw materials for which it must find foreign markets. Maintenance of its prosperity, therefore, is keyed to a high volume of external trade and could be undermined by either of two developments: (1) inability of Britain and other dollar-short countries to absorb large quantities of Canadian goods, particularly farm products; (2) depression in the United States, causing a decline in demand for Canadian paper and metals.

Economically as well as politically Canada is one side of what Professor J. B. Brebner has called "the North Atlantic triangle." It has long been accustomed to balance a constant trade deficit with the United States by means of a trade surplus with Western Europe and especially Britain. In prewar days, when most currencies were freely convertible, Canada could buy consumer and capital goods freely in this country, paying with the proceeds of its own transatlantic sales of wheat, timber, paper, and other commodities. Now payments no longer flow as smoothly around the triangle as they did when Britain could set off against its trading deficit with North America the dollars earned by investments in Canada and the United States. Since the war ended, Britain has been able to finance imports from the Dominion only by means of large loans from the Canadian government, supplemented in the last two years by E. R. P. dollars. Even so, it has been forced progressively to restrict purchases and seek alternative sources of supply in "soft-currency" countries. It is still buying, under a five-year contract now in its fourth year, more than half the Canadian wheat surplus. But it has recently sharply reduced imports of bacon and other commodities.

Meanwhile Canada's trade deficit with this country remains uncomfortably large, even though it has been reduced considerably below the 1947 level, when it exceeded $1 billion, causing a rapid decline in the Dominion's exchange reserves. That is one reason why the exchange value of the Canadian dollar was cut 10 per cent when sterling was devalued. This move raised the cost of our goods in Canada, thus discouraging purchasers, and tended to lower the cost of Canadian goods here. It is doubtful whether this adjustment will serve to balance accounts. Canada, however, cannot go on indefinitely buying $2 billion worth of goods from the United States and selling only $1 billion, as Lester Pearson, Dominion Secretary of State for External Affairs, told an American audience on November 10, 1949. Unless this difference could be lessened by other means, he warned, his country might find it necessary to impose restrictions on the entry of United States goods.

But even if we buy larger quantities of Canadian raw materials, we are never likely to provide an important market for staple agricultural products—grains, meat, dairy products, and so forth. Unless, therefore, Canada can continue to dispose overseas of its surplus of such commodities, it will sooner or later face a farm crisis that might prove disruptive both politically and economically. It follows that it must seek to raise the buying power of Britain and other essential customers by encouraging them to earn Canadian dollars through the sale of their own manufactured goods.

To establish a working balance of payments with its two chief trade partners Canada needs to cut its purchases from the United States by about 15 per cent and to increase imports from Britain by about 100 per cent. This would place approximately the same volume of imported goods at the disposal of Canadian consumers. However, it will not prove easy to divert trade on this scale. British goods have long enjoyed a preferential tariff in Canada, and devaluation has, in many cases, given them a competitive advantage pricewise. Nevertheless, the market is proving a difficult one for British manufacturers. Canadians, reading American magazines and listening to American radio programs, are constantly exposed to the massive advertising of our producers; they are thoroughly conditioned to American styles and standards. Thus while British sales in Canada are trending upward, it seems improbable that they can be expanded sufficiently to establish an Anglo-Canadian balance of trade before Marshall Plan aid comes to an end. Consequently, shrinkage of Canadian food exports to match Britain's reduced means of payment must be anticipated. That will necessitate some difficult adjustments in the economy even if industry and mining continue to expand.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

POLITICAL SONNETS *by Mark Van Doren*

The Time of Martyrs

The time of martyrs may be come again;
Yet as of old, no single heart is foul.
Security, blindfolded, wears the cowl;
Stupidity sits here and judges men.
The best are most despised, as they were then;
As long ago they did, the worst ones howl
Loudest of fair intentions—wolf and owl
And dark hyena, guarding our great den.

The time of martyrs may be come and gone,
And we too late discover what is lost.
The beaten dog most happily will fawn;
December's flower forgives October's frost.
The time of martyrs—is it aging on,
With no spring meadows waiting to be crossed?

The Deepest Dream

The deepest dream is of mad governors.
Down, down we feel it, till the very crust
Of the world cracks, and where there was no dust,
Atoms of ruin rise. Confusion stirs,
And fear; and all our thoughts—dark scavengers—
Feed on the center's refuse. Hope is thrust
Like wind away, and love sinks into lust
For merest safety, meanest of levelers.

And then we wake. Or do we? Sleep endures
More than the morning can, when shadows lie
Sharper than mountains, and the cleft is real
Between us and our kings. What sun assures
Our courage, and what evening by and by
Descends to rest us, and perhaps to heal?

The War God

The war god is not guilty any more.
Time was he winced, meeting our angry eyes.
And even then prevailed, yet knew it wise
Not to seem proud, sending sweet peace before
As sister, goddess, queen. But with a roar
Now he blasphemes her, and his bluster flies
Like desert wind, and fills the dirty skies.
He says that peace is his dishonest whore.

And who of us but laughs, though bitterly
We wonder at the change in us, and charge
Now him, now fate, with fathering such blood?
War's moment, lengthened to eternity—
What else is our religion? What so large,
So terrible? We worship it, the Flood.

Born Brothers

Equality is absolute or no.
Nothing between can stand. We are sons
Of the same sire, or madness breaks and runs
Through the rude world. Ridiculous our woe
If single pity does not love it. So
Our separate fathers love us. No man shuns
His poorest child's embrace. We are the sons
Of such, or ground and sky are soon to go.

Nor do born brothers judge, as good or ill,
Their being. Each consents and is the same,
Or suddenly sweet winds turn into flame
And floods are on us—fire, earth, water, air
All hideously parted, as his will
Withdraws, no longer fatherly and there.

Humanity Unlimited

Humanity unlimited? Oh, ring
Fire bells; unleash the bloodhounds, and the tall
Mastiffs; and start building, somewhere, wall
On wall that daws and eagles on the wing
But no proud man can pass. Do anything,
My masters, to confine us one and all—
You, too—within the pasture and the hall
And the gray church where sadness used to sing.

It sang that we were prisoners of ourselves,
And jailers—oh, the echo doubled back
And crushed us. There was not a lighted crack
That let the worst, the best of us go through.
Yet it was sweeter. Mice upon the shelves
Of our great cupboard envied us; and you.

The Prism

When Adam fell, and Eve, and the gates closed
Forever, with a clang that lightning now
Repeats, and thunder mourns, perfection dozed
And dozes still, save that a happy brow
Sometimes in wind remembers, and somehow
Adam is not dead; the scarlet-rosed,
The green angelic garden he reposed
And climbed in sings again from every bough.

But all men since are gone. The patriarchs,
The heroes—even they were broken beams
Of the first morning light, that fell on larks
And lived—no single splinter of it lost,
As piecemeal in our minds the truth is tossed
On waves of darkness here, and dawn but seems.

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The "American Scott"

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. By James Grossman. The American Men of Letters Series. William Sloane Associates. $3.50.

THAT most interesting compendium of up-to-date liberal thought, the "Literary History of the United States," voices a commonly held view of James Fenimore Cooper when it tells us that he "was not properly a literary spirit," and then goes on to imply that this was a good thing for Cooper and for America. Taking note of Cooper's frequent crudeness and naivete, the "Literary History" comes near to praising him for these very qualities, because, it appears, they kept Cooper from stifling with "literary craftsmanship" the immediate self-utterance of America in all its passion and scope. And the novels in which America utters itself most powerfully, the "Leather-Stocking Tales," are said to be unencumbered by any art beyond "the art of telling a story."

Now this is all most misleading. If Cooper was not a "literary spirit," then there has never been one—which is not to say, of course, there have not been better writers than Cooper. The first sentence in "The Last of the Mohicans" reads: "It was a feature peculiar to the colonial wars of North America that the toils and dangers of the wilderness were to be encountered before the adverse hosts could meet." Quite a sentence that. And certainly these are the words of a notably literary man, notably aware of language and syntax.

Another way of determining to what extent a writer is "literary"—I assume no one equates "literary" with "arty"—is to look at the complexity and connotativeness of his myths. On this score "The Last of the Mohicans" is a true fountainhead of literary themes. The dark woman and the blonde woman, prominent in Melville and Hawthorne, glow in Cooper's novel with an already bright mythical significance. Natty Bumppo, skilful specialist in frontier lore and a man who has "no kin . . . no people," adumbrates the many-faceted figure of American literary myth whom Melville called Ishmael. And then, as Mr. Grossman says, Cooper's gradual building up of Natty Bumppo in the "Leather-Stocking Tales," though it may indeed entail certain of the "literary offenses" cited by Mark Twain, follows the traditional process by which the great heroes of myth gather about them the accretions of folk literature. Offenses and all, Cooper was literary to his finger tips.

In his generous, sagacious, and useful biography Mr. Grossman has made the quiet assumption that Cooper's books must first of all be regarded as literary works, apart from their national or historical meaning to us. And this has saved him as surely from overestimating Cooper as from underestimating him. It has also, as we should expect, enabled Mr. Grossman to give us an entirely plain and convincing picture of Cooper in his various personal guises: the lionized "American Scott," the sometime expatriate with his unpopular foreign ideas, the crotchety Jacksonian Democrat, the aggrieved and outraged patrician who displayed "the elaborate publicness of his resentment" in a series of lawsuits against his critics, the plain American gentleman determined to thrust right principles of democracy upon an unwilling populace.

In the long war against American society waged by Cooper in his late years we glimpse some of the forces that were to make renegades of Melville, Whitman, Thoreau, and even Emerson and Hawthorne. But Cooper could not become quite a renegade because there was always about him the kind of grand, stubborn federal quality that belonged to many of the famous Americans of his time. In the countenance that looks out at us from the Buttre engraving there is, it must be admitted, a certain preposterous vacantness, but also a strongly impressive Roman Senatorial look, and a look of Ishmaelite innerness and poetry. Mr. Grossman's book is a perceptive natural history of this countenance.

Mythicists may occasionally regret that the biographer does not push a little deeper with such interesting facts as the murder of Cooper's father by a political opponent—beyond the observation that this murder may bear directly upon Cooper's connection of ritual parricide with the birth of the nation in "Wyandotte." Others may be particularly struck by Mr. Grossman's suggestion that in his last novel, "The Ways of the Hour," Cooper pictured himself as a female outcast who, while in jail on suspicion of murder, arson, and theft, insists on speaking in French, reading foreign books, playing the harp, and otherwise making herself obnoxious to those whom she regards as the rude American populace. And being interested in the wit and pathos of this extravagant idea, they may wish that Mr. Grossman had offered more of such suggestions. Yet this would be to ask for a different book, and a book probably less clear, level-headed, and persuasive than the one Mr. Grossman has admirably written.

RICHARD CHASE

Duggan on Latin America

THE AMERICAS: THE SEARCH FOR HEMISPHERE SECURITY. By Lawrence Duggan. With a Foreword by Herschel Brickell. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

THE oblique reference, so familiar in post facto diplomatic musings, leads a hard life in this book, for Lawrence Duggan pulls no punches. He uses words of unmistakable meaning to describe conditions in Latin America and the relations of the United States with its twenty republics.

Duggan entered the American Republics Division of the State Department in 1930, and for nine of the fourteen years he spent there he acted as chief. In no similar period of United States dealings with Latin America have more important decisions been made, and Duggan had a hand in most of them. His book is a summary of fact and informed opinion of what happened in the State Department before, during, and after his connection with it, and of his recommendations for the future.

The book is short, only 242 pages, including the long and useful index and appendix. It is so condensed that almost no page of it can be skipped without loss to the reader, and it is extremely well organized. Exactly half of it is devoted to social and historical backgrounds under those chapter headings. In this part of the book he uses such unofficial words as ignorance, corruption, malnutrition, poverty, oligarchy, and dictatorship wherever they fit best. Most ex-diplomats when cornered examine their fingernails and re-

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fer gingerly, for instance, to "the Panamanian revolution against Colombia," but Duggan speaks of "the Panama land grab." It makes good reading.

He devotes one section to the Catholic church, which he describes as neither so depraved as its detractors would have us believe nor so unblemished as its apologists claim. The army in politics comes in for discussion here, too. In commenting on the traditional alliance between landowners and the army Duggan makes one penetrating remark about Perón's break with the landowners in favor of a demagogic rallying of the masses. This rupture he describes as a passing phase like the early radicalism of the Nazis. "Landowners and the army need each other too much to quarrel seriously."

The second half of the book deals with the present and future. Latin America's only hope, Duggan believes, lies in more secular education and health instruction, increased industrialization, and extensive redistribution of land. For countries unable to supply or support heavy industry he advocates productive, profitable, small local industries, even including part-time cottage crafts. He urges that the United States give technical and material aid wherever necessary, and he notes that the *Latinos*, at first suspicious of our cooperative health and agricultural programs, are now willingly footing more than half the bill for them. For big countries, or those with large resources, the author recommends big industries. He gives examples and quotes no less an authority on basic policy than the National Association of Manufacturers.

Although Duggan is soberly happy over the easing of Latin American suspicions of the motives of the United States and is a strong believer in closer hemispheric ties, he thinks world order must come first. "Since the atom bomb and bacteriological warfare . . . security on a regional basis is an obsolete delusion. The inter-American system has many values, but . . . as a shield for this hemisphere against future wars it is totally inadequate."

He devotes some thoughtful paragraphs to our weathervane policies on recognition of de facto governments and what we ought and ought not to do about dictators. "Unimplemented nonrecognition has about as much effect," he writes, "as sticking one's tongue out."

In discussing any book of opinion a reviewer feels the impulse to call the author "objective" when his conclusions coincide with those of the reviewer and to call him "prejudiced" when they differ. But in Duggan's approach there is a quality of sincerity as tangible and as simple as an ax handle. You do not have to agree with everything he says, but you do not doubt his thoughtfulness, his honesty, and his knowledge of his subject. With one exception.

The exception hurts because in this case I think that Duggan is not completely frank. At the end of 1943 a fascist-inspired military and civilian group in Bolivia overthrew its hulking uninspired President, General Enrique Peñaranda. Duggan says that Peñaranda's exit "was a loss only if the government which replaced it were worse." Allan Dawson, then on the Bolivian desk of the State Department, knew that the new regime would be worse. Secretary Hull was also convinced of it and was prepared to end all aid to Bolivia. Sumner Welles and Duggan, however, believed in the promises of the new government, ignored the bad record of its members, and swung United States support its way. The result cost thousands of Bolivian lives. But Duggan's book, which relates in detail many ticklish situations, refers to this one only in the vague terms of the broad policy of recognition.

That one lapse, however, is a small thing to balance against the book's many virtues and such forthright statements as this: "As a nation we are disgracefully ignorant of other peoples. Yet at the drop of a hat we will take a positive stand on the most controversial aspects of their life. When we add to this national trait a missionary zeal to make over the world in our own image, the result can give ourselves and our neighbors plenty of headaches."

There are many other comments equally good, and anyone who has read this far ought to buy the book.

SCOTT SEEGERS

A Philosophy for Those Who 'Will Not Take Evil Good-Naturedly'

I shall take the risk of predicting that, in ten years or so, Edmond Cahn will be a name to conjure with, like that of John Dewey or William James or Alfred North Whitehead. For here is the most impelling discussion since Aristotle of the subject of justice—a subject which, in an earlier relatively tranquil era, bored most men but which, in our era of perplexity, has again come to the fore as one of pressing significance. . . .

JEROME FRANK IN THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW OF DECEMBER 18, 1949

THE SENSE OF INJUSTICE

by EDMOND N. CAHN

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The New York Stage

THE THEATER BOOK OF THE YEAR, 1948-49. By George Jean Nathan. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

THE BURNS MANTLE BEST PLAYS, 1948-49. Edited by John Chapman. Dodd, Mead and Company. $4.

THE death a few weeks ago of Professor George Odell cut off at the fifteenth huge volume his "Annals of the New York Stage"—a work of passionate industry which furnished probably the most complete record of theatrical activity over a considerable period ever compiled for any city in the world. It seems unlikely that anyone will be found willing to spend, as Professor Odell did, almost his entire waking life on a task which had gradually become his whole reason for living. The last volume carries the record down to 1894, and that leaves a gap of a full generation between his last entry and the beginning of the annual record compiled by the late Burns Mantle. The hope once expressed by Arthur Hobson Quinn that the two workers might eventually meet to have a golden spike driven through them can never now be realized.

Meanwhile John Chapman has been carrying on the Burns Mantle enterprise, and Mr. Nathan now offers the seventh of his own annual volumes. The two overlap to the extent that each records, with casts, every professional production in New York, with the date of opening and closing. Mr. Chapman adds abbreviated versions of the "ten best" plays of the year, some account of activities in other cities, and various other lists and tables. Mr. Nathan, who probably comes nearer than any other man ever did to seeing every theatrical offering presented in New York City, writes a little essay in connection with each of them—analytical when he thinks it worth while, tangential when he doesn't. They continue to be full of wit, wisdom, and his own special brand of agreeably cocky spoofing. They also exploit the contents of a memory so phenomenal that, as he himself remarks, elephants have been known to consult him.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Arts in America

ART AND LIFE IN AMERICA. By Oliver W. Larkin. Rinehart and Company. $7.95.

MR. LARKIN'S book is a history of American art from colonial times to the present, a detailed record of performance in architecture, painting, and sculpture seen in relation to contemporary political, social, and literary developments. The amount of material presented is enormous, and the scope of the book so vast that it is difficut to follow a single thread through the labyrinthine account of the growth of the arts in this country. As in no other work on the subject the reader gains an impression of the whole fabric of our civilization rather than its separate threads. The nature of the society from which the serviceable carpenter and limner of colonial days emerged is explained as clearly as the products of these early artisans. The careful analysis of the national temper in the decade before the war and the account of the Federal Arts Projects explains the trends of art within recent memory. The student of American civilization can trace for himself such diverse themes as the parallels between American literature and art, the relationship between artist and patron, the role of the Congress in art, and the expression of democratic ideals in plastic form.

The writer analyzes the great international exhibitions from the Centennial of 1876 to the New York World's Fair of 1939 as indices of the development of art and taste in the United States. Of particular interest is his chapter on the Armory Show of 1913, rendered the more valuable by his inclusion of the opinions of contemporary critics pro and con in this memorable adventure in modern art. The book achieves a unity because it is a work of objective reporting rather than interpretation colored by personal bias. And this reporting consists not only in the usual enumerating of artists and styles but also in the presentation of contemporary criticism, reflections of American taste from periodicals and newspapers, together with a documentation of all significant parallels in the realms of politics and literature. There are many earlier books on American art in which qualities like romanticism, realism, idealism, and the like are presented as persistent factors in American expression. The reader will not find any such artificial theme or personal interpretation in Mr. Larkin's work. His method is a perfectly clear and unbiased exposition of how American painters, sculptors, and architects reacted to their time and environment and how their work reflected the political and economic circumstances of their day. One has the impression, in other words, of a completely three-dimensional history of American art. In his role of guide down the corridor of our history the writer points out the significant touchstones of every period that many a discerning eye has failed to espy.

Although the reading of this book, so broad in its scope, so all-inclusive in its presentation of the arts in this country, should leave the reader with some conclusions on the essentially American character of American art, it is extremely difficult to put these reactions into words. It may not be any longer possible to agree with the critic who wrote in the '80's that "the history of art in America from the earliest times to the present is little more than a reflection of the art of different countries of Europe." Even now it is not too much to say, however, that the history of the arts in America has been one of an ever-renewed eclectic adaptation and assimilation of European styles. The practical exploitation of the theoretical pioneering of Europeans that Tocqueville pointed out in our scientific development in the nineteenth century is not without its parallel in art, because such adaptation and assimilation was often creative rather than imitative and, indeed, made for a kind of originality with an American flavor: the American adaptation of the temple plan produced

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a national and utilitarian form of architecture that surpassed any achievement of the neo-classic in Europe; Jack Levine's reworking of the textural and coloristic formulas of Soutine and Rouault produces painting that in its expression of pity and satire of our society is entirely American. Whether we like the work of Grant Wood or not, his eclectic combination of the iron-hard realism of Flemish art with ingredients borrowed from American primitives and craft patterns did produce a kind of painting with an unquestioned American flavor.

If the book leaves any one dominant impression on the reader, it is of the extraordinary diversity of art in America and what Frank Lloyd Wright called "the unwarped growth of the individual" in the art of a democracy. Sometimes the price of this freedom was the insufferable taste of the "chromo" civilization of the '70's. More happily, it has made possible Wright's own contribution to American and international architecture. In examining the scores of illustrations of paintings from colonial days to the present, one feels, although Mr. Larkin does not press the point, that American artists have been at their best when, in Whitman's words, they found "even the most precious in the common." This is as true of Audubon's birds and Mount's recordings of life on Long Island as it is of the most sophisticated still-lifes of Charles Demuth. If there are any particularly enduring qualities in American art, they are to be discerned, in architecture, in the development of functional and utilitarian building suited to our people and climate, an honesty and appropriateness first exemplified by the Shakers, prophesied by Horatio Greenough, and realized in the work of Sullivan and Wright.

Although it is more difficult to discern a like continuity in the development of American painting, such a quality does seem to manifest itself in what has been called "art within the scope of popular associations," the work of artists who, like Thomas Eakins, peered deeply into American life, an art that is alternately factual and ideal, concerned with truth to nature and a sense of human dignity thoroughly compatible with democratic ideals.

Although the writer does persuade us of the importance of art for the study of American culture, it is not entirely possible to agree with him that the arts in this country have ever been a really integral and influential part of our social system, as they were in the countries of the Old World. The modern isolation of art from life is not peculiar to America but is a part of the changes in Western civilization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This condition in America can partly be explained by what Horatio Greenough called our devotion to the business of everyday life and Emerson's complaint that the mind of the race was set on property, not art. It remains that for these and other reasons peculiar to our civilization art has never been, as in France and Italy, "the bright companion of work," a constant source of refreshment for the weary from the drabness of everyday life. Although in the nineteenth century there was a change from Benjamin Franklin's utilitarian point of view that "one invention of a machine is of more import than a masterpiece by Raphael" to one of reasonable pride in the achievement of native artists as expressed by men like Cooper, the fact is that art, with the exception of dying craft traditions, continued as a luxury catering to the tastes of the few rather than to the needs and requirements of the many.

This is obviously a condition that only a change of heart or a change of patronage can alter. Mr. Larkin leaves us with the impression that some improvement in this direction was promised by the Federal Arts Projects and is still a possibility in the patronage of industry and labor.

BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR.

"O California!"

CALIFORNIA: THE GREAT EXCEPTION. By Carey McWilliams. A. A. Wyn. $4.

O California, wild and worse!
Meet child for a strong-handed nurse!

CALIFORNIA is obviously the glamour girl among the states. The Splendid Idle Forties, the Gold Rush, and Hollywood are unique chapters in America's colorful saga. Carey McWilliams is not afraid of romance. But his study combines, in the most unusual degree, the statistical approach and a sense of life. He is realistic enough not to miss the larger issues; and if he is "starry-eyed"—the worst insult Mr. Hoover can think of—this does not impair the keenness of his sight. Readers of *The Nation* need not be told about his work. But there is an inevitable difference between good articles and a well-composed book. This strikes me, not as journalism or hebdomadalism, but as sociology of a very high order.

The thesis is expressed in the title. Nothing happened in California as it did in the other states. There was no frontier stage: California was not won by gradual expansion but by a sudden influx, from the Isthmus and round the Horn. The enormous gap was bridged only twenty years later, and for two decades California lived a vigorous life of its own. Two other radical differences may be observed. The industry which gave the state its head start, gold, was at first extraordinarily democratic. Everyone worked with his own hands on his own little claim—the paradise of the sturdy individualist. On the contrary, agriculture did not offer the same free opportunities as in the Middle West: most of the arable land was preempted by vast Spanish grants and later by railroad grants. Latifundia are still an ominous feature of California's economy.

The second point McWilliams makes is that California's prosperity has not been a smooth growth but a series of new starts. Fortunately, the resources of the state are so varied that a sort of ratchet

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arrangement prevents the booms from always collapsing into complete depressions. The crises—which are real enough—are soon overcome by a different boom. Gold was followed by horticulture, then came the tourist trade, then oil and the movies, then the airplane industry, and before that recedes, Californians are confident some new source of wealth will be found.

McWilliams insists on three ugly features in Californian life: the unceasing labor war, especially in San Francisco—the present Bridges trial is merely an episode in that long and often brutal story; the plight of migrant labor in the fields; the dominance of super-lobbyists, like Arthur Samish, in Sacramento.

We cannot escape the impression that economic activities in California have so far been in the nature of "mining"—that is, plundering natural resources without any thought of the future. So it is, inevitably, with gold and oil; so it was with the lumber industry and the agricultural industry—for agriculture, in California, is not *farming* in the Old World sense. So it was with the most essential element of prosperity, water. The "rivers that flow upside down" and the underground pools are being pumped dry. The great Central Valley project will help, but its limits will soon be reached. Now California, aware of the danger, is pursuing a ruthless policy of water imperialism. It is trying to get more than its share of the Colorado, and might even attempt to steal the Columbia.

The main lesson of the book is that California, or rather the whole Western region, needs an over-all planning authority to harmonize the various claims and curb the brutality of private greed. Note that the Californians are collectivistic enough when it comes to imposing an iron rule upon private ranchers or employers. But the collectivities are controlled by a few men, with little concern for the common good. The state is still in the hands of the Barbarians.

The book is so thought-provoking, as well as informative, that I wish it were longer. I should have liked a fuller treatment of the oil industry, with the present battle for the control of the tidelands. Something also, obvious as it may seem, about Hollywood. "Ladder to the Stars" might not refer exclusively to the Lick, Mt. Wilson, and Palomar observatories. There is a sociology of glamour. Something also about the religious situation. California is a stronghold of Catholicism, and also the home of quaint religions; but, above all, Los Angeles is one of the bastions of the Bible belt. This is not indifferent in political and social affairs. The Fundamentalists are not necessarily opposed to Utopia: many of them are premillennarians. But it must assume an orthodox garb. Upton Sinclair had a vast following in Southern California until some anti-clerical utterances were fished up from his earlier works; that was the end of the EPIC plan.

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

IN THESE days the critic on Broadway—as where not?—if he has any standards whatever, must be a no-sayer 99/100ths of the time. Humanly speaking, it is a trying role. It tends to arouse resentment, irrational but real, in the gentle reader—and who likes being resented? Moreover, the critic himself, who is after all human too, gets weary of his own no's and sometimes even wonders if it is true that critics are like the musician in the symphony orchestra who hated music.

Then once in a while, in a great while, the critic finds himself in the presence of the real creative thing, of something like "Caesar and Cleopatra" by Bernard Shaw or "The Member of the Wedding" by Carson McCullers (Empire Theater). And the dogged and doggéd critic has his day. He knows for sure that his negatives have risen from a basic affirmative. He can feel happy, not merely right, about all those negatives—for if he hadn't said no to the bad, the false, and the ugly, how could his yes to the good, the true, and the beautiful have any force? He can even suppose that by hacking away, boresomely, at the overgrowth of weeds, he has somehow helped to make it possible for a clean clear spring, however major or minor, to bubble up into the light.

"The Member of the Wedding" is not a major play. Strictly speaking, it is not so much a play as it is whatever in the theater corresponds to the tone poem in music. What is important is that in "The Member of the Wedding" an authentic experience, deeply felt, has been articulated in authentic characters and speech; and that its production by Harold Clurman and its acting out by Ethel Waters, Julie Harris, and the youngster Brandon de Wilde are cut from the same cloth of authenticity, art, and creative zest. (The whole cast is good.)

The play has a limited but very moving theme—the transition from childhood to youth. The central character is a twelve-year-old girl, Frankie, beset by all the fears and sorrows of that crucial period. It is vacation time, her one intimate friend has moved away and the club of older girls won't elect her; her father's attitude toward her has changed, but she doesn't understand why. She wants to be pretty but she has grown several inches in a few months and is all arms and legs—and she has whacked off her hair. Frankie is afraid she will grow into a freak nine feet tall, she thinks the Law is after her because she has had an inkling of "sin," and so on. In her lonely troubled state she seizes upon the wedding of her brother and his bride and decides to attach herself to them, forever. She, like everyone else, must belong to a "we"; and of course the two people with whom she spends most of her time in the ugly kitchen—Berenice the cook and John Henry the little cousin—won't do.

There are extravagances in the play—but of expression rather than of conception: "They are the we of me," for instance. An impossible phrase—yet one forgives it because the feeling behind it is sound. The character of Berenice occasionally shoulders out that of Frankie, shifting the focus. The play could easily be ruined by overacting, and there was just a touch of it at one or two points. I hope that all concerned are aware and will beware of this danger.

The audience cheered at the end. I *think* for the right reasons.

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Films

WILLIAM POSTER

MGM'S "Intruder in the Dust" is an adult and talented effort to transport the quality and meaning of Faulkner's novel to the screen within the limitations of the medium and the receptivity of the movie audience. The story deals with Lucas Beauchamp, the intrepid, isolated descendant of a Negro slave who works his own few inherited acres and arrogantly refuses to "act like a nigger." The local hostility toward him erupts when he is found standing over the body of Vinson Gowrie, of the lawless, brawling Gowries, with a recently fired pistol in his pocket. With the odds on his survival rapidly decreasing as the mob multiplies in front of the county jail, he is saved through the efforts of a sixteen-year-old boy and a seventy-year-old spinster, abetted by the less wholehearted endeavors of the boy's lawyer-uncle and some others.

Faulkner's novel, as I understand it, involves a change of heart and to a lesser degree a change of mind *within* the conservative or agrarian Southern attitude toward the Negro—a vastly different affair from the adoption of the point of view of Northern liberalism. The makers of the film were obviously determined to retain as much of the original as possible, even to getting the fateful, lengthy Faulkner style into the dialogue and letting the camera follow exact visual sequences from the prose. They were also faced with the impossible job of reconciling Faulkner's beliefs with the tenets of Hollywood liberalism. Result: there is some very smooth broken-field running around all the implications that get in the way, but many of the dramatic potentialities of the plot are lost.

The dramatic possibilities of the role of the youngster, for example, reside in the fact that as a normal, baseball-playing, rabbit-hunting Southern boy he wants to affirm his virility and oneness with the people about him by keeping the Negro in his place. Obviously this attitude should give way only gradually and with difficulty to his desire to help Beauchamp—with whom he has an involved relationship—but it achieves the most meager kind of reality to begin with and dries up like summer rain. Similarly, the entire crusade for Beauchamp punches its way out of prejudice, conformism, inertia, and fear as if they were paper bags. Excitable "Nub" Gowrie lets the sheriff and lawyer open his son's grave with what amounts to a screen shrug—while you are waiting for his hounds to tear them to bits; the aged Miss Habersham decides to sit knitting between the lynchers and their quarry with as much trepidation as if she were about to bake a new kind of cake; the mob, including the real murderer, accepts its frustration lackadaisically, as though lynch-stopping spinsters were an old Southern institution.

The film is turned aside from its main course by ideological barriers, but the remarkable energy and inventiveness behind it emerge in a wealth of minor incidents and subordinate roles which are superbly directed (Clarence Ford), photographed (R. Surtees), and acted (Porter Hall, Charles Kemper, David Clarke, and the townspeople of Oxford, Mississippi, where the film was shot). There are more memorable moments in it than you will find in any dozen other recent pictures. The opening sequence of abrupt shots—a town street, the barber shop with some desultory conversation culminating in the high-pitched whine of a dusty farmer ("Shoot a Gowrie in the back? Who'd go and do a fool thing like that?"), the hymn-singing church congregation, and again the street with the mud-stained, flat-tired car of the sheriff clattering up to the jail—is audacious, economical cinema with sound and sight so well related that one feels that a slight change in any element would injure the whole. There are other impressive passages though none quite so well wrought.

Porter Hall, playing the role of one-armed "Nub" Gowrie, stands out as he usually does by keeping an amazing physical and vocal individuality completely within the dimensions of normality. The careful, clumsy, tender gestures with which he scoops sand off his dead son's face, his reedy voice with its faint brogue hardly rising above a monotone saying, "Put my boy in quicksand?"—these remain with you longer than anything else in the picture. The major roles are acted effectively but as erratically as they are conceived. Juano Hernandez is a splendid pictorial incarnation of the grandiose type of Southern Negro, but he plays Beauchamp in somewhat too holy a manner and never quite gets the precise direction of the tricky, oblique dialogue. David Brian pumps a stagy, confused energy into the stagy, confusing character of the lawyer. Claude Jarman, Jr., is mobile and sincere in the main role but too mild and starry-eyed to put as much muddy vigor into the center of the picture as there is in its periphery.

Vittorio De Sica's "The Bicycle Thief" is a likable bit of pathos, not very originally conceived or executed, about a poor bill-poster whose bicycle is stolen. Accompanied by his son, he wanders through nearly every street in Rome trying unsuccessfully to get it back. The pace and the lighting turn "The Bicycle Thief" into a gently melancholic series of strolls in gray weather rather than a frantic search. Even when the hero runs after someone or pursues the thief in an automobile, the picture still seems to be strolling with the unhopeful, limitless leisure of the unemployed it depicts.

De Sica tries for realism by using nearly all non-professional actors and doing his shooting in the streets. Since he doesn't concentrate on significant detail or get his players sufficiently loosened up to be natural, the film, except for its feel of poverty, comes out as somewhat less realistic than the average studio movie. However, "The Bicycle Thief" does have a certain ramshackle simplicity, quietness, and even naivete that are not unwelcome as a

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change from the stunning noise, ingenuity, and sophistication of Hollywood.

Among Hollywood's most impressive recent efforts are three which deal, in timely fashion, with one of the major themes of the first half of the twentieth century—the failure of the charismatic personality. "Young Man with a Horn," "All the King's Men," and "Give Us This Day" are remarkably similar in the seriousness and even the morbidity with which they treat, respectively, the haunted artist, politician, and worker. All three are based on novels of merit and manage to give them cinematic immediacy without debasing them excessively.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THERE has been occasion to listen, after an interval, to Stravinsky's "Petrouchka," and to be amazed and delighted anew by its masterful construction, the undiminished freshness of its substance, and its dramatic power. The occasion is London's new LP recording of the work (LLP-130)—not a dubbing from the excellent 78 r.p.m. recording, but one newly made by Ansermet and his Orchestra de la Suisse romande. The performance is superb; and the recording brings to LP, for the first time, the full measure of English Decca roundness and clarity of sound in deep and wide space—the result being some of the most beautiful sound ever produced by any record, and certainly the most beautiful produced by an LP record. I cannot understand why the snare-drum passage connects the first and second scenes but is omitted between the second and third and the third and fourth. And I feel obliged to report the missing C-sharp in measure 130 (if my score is correct).

London also offers Brahms's Sonata Opus 5 for piano—much of it bombastic attempts at grand utterance, much of it saccharine—the vigorous portions well played, the quiet ones over-sentimentalized by Julius Katchen, and the sound of the piano excellently reproduced by the LP records (LLP-122), but surfaces quite noisy.

On 78 r.p.m. London has issued Tartini's "Devil's Trill" Sonata, one of the violin virtuoso warhorses, but much of it very lovely, and played with admirable simplicity as well as the required virtuosity by Alfredo Campoli. Eric Gritten provides the usual bloodless piano accompaniment; and the performance is well reproduced (LA-114).

Of the twelve Scarlatti sonatas performed on the piano by Soulima Stravinsky on an Allegro LP record (AL-21) most are unfamiliar and previously unrecorded, a couple are rather dull, a number are moderately interesting, and two—L. 128, with its extraordinary silences, and the brilliant L. 286—are very fine. Some of the slow ones are played with excessive rubato; all are played clearly and sensitively. With treble drastically reduced the recorded sound is good; but there are crack-like noises on side 2. I should add that the six pieces played on side 2 are actually the five described on the label of side 1 plus one that is not on the label.

On a Columbia LP (ML-2076) are Mendelssohn's Sonata Opus 65 for organ, with a first movement that is pleasant to listen to, and several engaging smaller-scale pieces by Bach, some arranged for organ by E. Power Biggs, whose performances are simple and clear, but a little thick in sound, and are well reproduced.

Recently I discussed the remarkable performances of a number of unfamiliar and difficult works of Stravinsky that young Robert Craft had produced with only a couple of rehearsals of assembled orchestra, chorus, and soloists. They had been achieved by a remarkable equipment for the purpose—the musical equipment which had enabled him to acquire the knowledge of every detail of the music that was evident in his work with the performers; and the specific gift for conducting which had enabled him, even with his strangely unorthodox technique of gesture, to communicate his knowledge and purpose effectively to every mind involved in the performances. On the other hand at the Little Orchestra Society's performance of Handel's "Israel in Egypt" Thomas Scherman had himself a time now throwing cues to the players on the right, now stabbing at the chorus in back, now conducting a woodwind on the left; but it was evident that he was not in real communication with or control of any one of them; and I was left wondering what could have induced him to present this raucous confusion and expose his lack of professional competence to the public.

Remembering the concert at the Y. M. H. A. two years ago, in which the Budapest Quartet played very badly but the exciting musical life in Frank Miller's playing of the second-cello part stimulated the others into achieving with him a great performance of Schubert's Quintet Opus 163, I went to the Y recently to hear them play it again. The concert opened with Mozart's Quartet K. 458, which offered the agreeable surprise of restored beauty in Roisman's tone (except in fortissimo) and, as a result, in the playing of the entire group. But there was a surprise in the Schubert too: it was a wonderful performance, with wonderful playing by Miller, again; but the agitated florid comments of the second cello in the slow movement were reduced this time in dynamics and intensity to almost a shadow of what they were two years ago. I take it that is as much musical life as the Budapest Quartet likes in a second-cello part.

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Letters to the Editors

Lonely Hearts Department

Dear Sirs: My husband and I have read *The Nation* for years. Some time ago we left our family and friends up north and moved to Miami. It is not easy to find "our" kind of people here. Yet we love this place, and each day when we hear the weather reports we think we are very lucky not to be battling with the elements. That's what age does to you.

Not being "church people," we cannot go to our local man of God and make friends. The local saloon won't be of any help, and from what I have seen of the neighbors, we know we won't get any intellectual help there. Maybe there are others like us in this area who should know one another. Some months ago I answered an advertisement in *The Nation* from a family wishing to share a house, and although we could not come to any business arrangement, we did become friends, so you see there may be a mutual attraction between readers of your journal. We may not all be of the same political ideology, but I am sure we will have something other than football to talk about. This town is football crazy. Our address is 58 N. E. 53 Street.

(MRS.) PAUL SCOTT

Miami, Fla., December 12

More Than a Gesture

Dear Sirs: Judith Crist's article on the Feinberg law [A Blow for Freedom, *The Nation*, December 10] was very much to the point. However, Mrs. Crist is mistaken in referring to the suit brought by the Teachers' Union as "only a gesture, since the board could not implement a law that the Regents had not defined."

As a matter of chronological fact, the union's case was the *first* of the three legal actions to be brought, and the only one directed against the New York City Board of Education. It was brought on Monday, September 12, the first day of the school term. During that same week the Communist Party filed an action in Albany and obtained a temporary injunction restraining the Board of Regents from administering the law pending a determination of its constitutionality. (It was several weeks later that Senator Moritt filed his taxpayer's suit—a most valuable and valiant action.)

On September 15 the Board of Education held a public hearing on the regulations for implementing the Feinberg law proposed by Superintendent of Schools William Jansen and published in the press on September 13. It is unfortunate but true that the New York City Board of Education refused to accept the temporary injunction against the Board of Regents as binding upon it. Judge Hearn called into consultation with him the union's attorneys and corporation counsel representing the Board of Education in an effort to persuade the latter to consent to a stay until the constitutionality issues were determined. This the board refused to do.

As Justice Hearn stated in his decision of December 15, the corporation counsel "admits that defendant [the Board of Education] intends and threatens and has taken steps immediately to effectuate the law." It was then that Justice Hearn granted a stay pending his decision on the motion for a temporary injunction as well as for a judgment on the pleadings.

Thus you can see that were it not for the case brought by the Teachers' Union, the New York City Board of Education would have set all the machinery in motion for carrying out the Feinberg law in our public schools. All the damage would have been done except perhaps for the actual dismissals. It was therefore something more than a "gesture."

Mrs. Crist, who has done a fine job of reporting many of the events connected with the Feinberg law and the schools, slips up on one other issue: after pointing to the silence of the State Commissioner of Education and many members of the Board of Regents who were known to be opposed to the bill from the start, she adds: "The individual teacher knew of course that he could not with any safety speak out against a law that in the near future could be applied against him."

The implication is that the individual teacher, like the Commissioner and the Regents, remained silent. Credit should be given, if only for the sake of encouragement, to the hundreds of teachers who did speak out. For example: nearly 700 signed affidavits in the Teachers' Union case for "leave to intervene as parties plaintiff"; thousands of teachers came to mass-meetings to protest the Feinberg law; hundreds distributed union leaflets against the law on street corners, in their schools and communities, and at summer resorts; thousands contributed to a defense fund raised by the union which topped $50,000 during the past year, and signed their names to petitions and postcards sent to the Governor, Board of Regents, and Board of Education. Finally, thousands showed by their continuing membership in the Teachers' Union that they were not intimidated, and that they at least were not going to "sit this one out" like so many of the liberals whose silence and inactivity Mrs. Crist rightly laments.

ROSE V. RUSSELL,
Legislative Representative,
Teachers' Union

New York, December 16

Bias . . .

Dear Sirs: As a subscriber to *The Nation*, I protest against the biased article by Judith Crist. Miss Crist states that I withdrew from the Moritt suit against the Feinberg law because the C. I. O. Teachers' Union was a participant. What are the facts?

Senator Fred Moritt, who like myself fought to prevent the Feinberg bill's enactment into law, informed me he was most anxious to test the constitutionality of the indefensible measure and would do so if the suit could be brought in my name. I readily agreed, although several other suits had already been inaugurated by Communists or those who followed the party line. Senator Moritt then asked me to secure the name of a prominent Catholic and Protestant, and I complied.

The merit of our proposed suit lay in the fact that the persons bringing it were well-known anti-Communists. Why did I withdraw? Because without consulting me Senator Moritt had brought members of the American Labor Party into the suit, thus tying my

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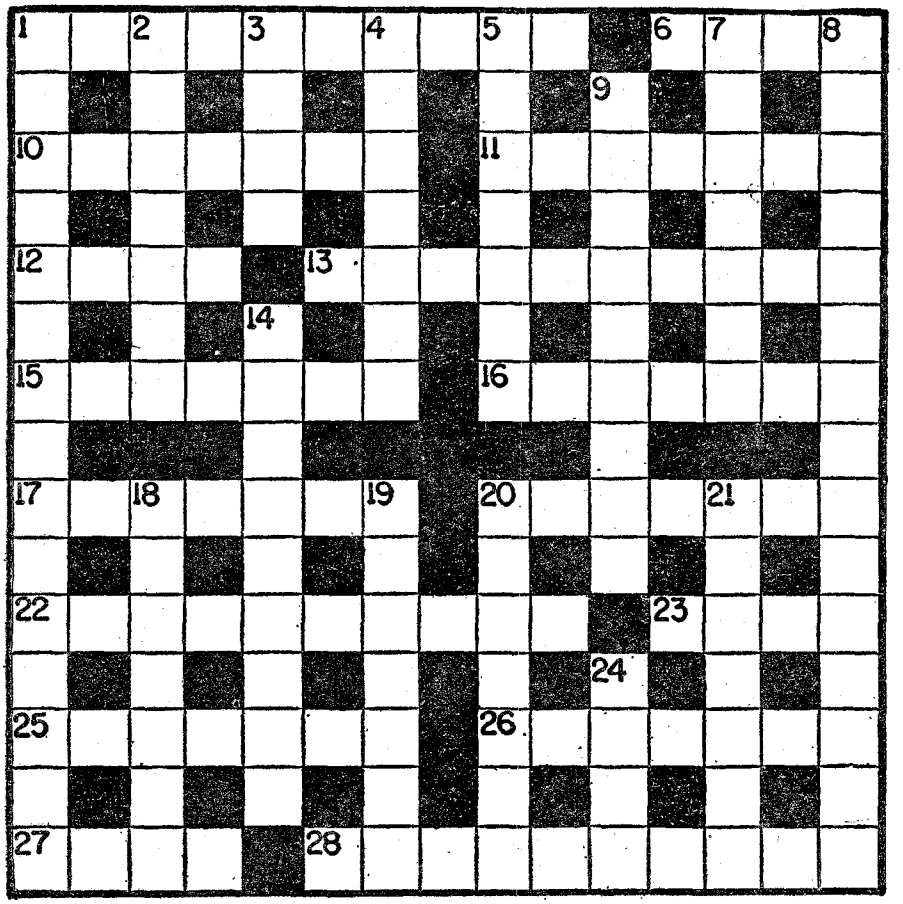
Crossword Puzzle No. 345

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Unaccompanied, but not like a good *a cappella* concert! (10)
6 This, in us, would mean the end. (4)
10 Katherine acted but little. (Rather green, perhaps.) (7)
11 Types of textbooks, in caps. (7)
12 Resistance might be nothing to *Pinafore*, for example. (4)
13 "What have walls besides cathedrals" looks like an answer to escape. (5, 5)
15 The French, before 23, once took of it. (7)
16 Impress with smirks. (7)
17 Strange, yet common. (7)
20 Snake with an identifying track? (7)
22 Parker, for example? (3, 2, 5)
23 Cheek gives the disease character. (4)
25 Sherwood's delightful play wasn't so! (7)
26 Light opera sheds light on women. (3, 4)
27 Is such asceticism catching with Yankees? (4)
28 Subtle of Johnson—he might be one of these. (10)

DOWN

1 X (7, 8)
2 One who does might seem trying to you. (7)
3 Brutus said there's one in the affairs of men. (4)
4 Minor masses—sort of loud in the middle. (7)
5 Shows the attitude of 1 down? (7)
7 Get at a French student about to move up. (7)
8 A German's street's the locale of many such fighting-men. (6, 9)
9 Eve, perhaps. (5, 4)
14 Pedestals for Patience? (9)
18 Intent living, perhaps? (7)
19 Spiral. (7)
20 There's no little work to keeping a Roman shop. (7)
21 The American and Foreign kind are bigger than the Roman. (7)
24 Self-effacing swami? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 344

ACROSS:—1 BRUSH; 4 PENCHANTS; 9 LIBRARIAN; 10 LINER; 11 NINETY-TWO; 12 WASTE; 13 CHOPSTICKS; 17 FAVORITISM; 21 ELLEN; 22 WHETSTONE; 23 CHOPS; 24 RETREATED; 25 SERENADES; 26 POSER.

DOWN:—1 BELONG; 2 URBANE; 3 HEARTS; 4 PAINT THE TOWN RED; 6 HALFWITS; 7 NONESUCH; 8 SURCEASE; 14 OFFENCES; 15 EVILDOER; 16 GRANDSON. 18 ASLEEP; 19 YOUTHS; 20 TENDER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

colleagues and myself with a political group that is known to be under complete Communist domination. By that action the only merit or virtue our suit possessed was destroyed. Hence I withdrew. Miss Crist was fully aware of these facts, or should have been, before writing her article. Why, then, the biased presentation?

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

Brooklyn, December 12

. . . with a Vengeance

Dear Sirs: If disagreement with Mr. Lefkowitz as to facts indicates "bias," then any number of my informants are as prejudiced as I in stating the situation as they and I observed it. Senator Moritt presents a very different picture from that given by Mr. Lefkowitz as to the formulation of the suit, which Moritt had instigated long before Lefkowitz approached him. But so much for that.

Since Mr. Lefkowitz remained as a plaintiff in the suit with rank-and-file Teachers' Union and A. L. P. members *only* until a prominent Teachers' Union official—who was, incidentally, an A. L. P. rank-and-filer—joined, my statement was one of fact, scarcely bias. But since the Teachers' Union members among the plaintiffs were also A. L. P. members, he is free to choose his own excuse.

I hold a brief for neither the union nor the A. L. P. There are many who would have preferred to see so patently non-Communist an organization as the Teachers' Guild take an active part in declaring the Feinberg law unconstitutional. But because of attitudes such as that of Mr. Lefkowitz, the fight was left in good part to left-wing organizations. That this was not entirely so was due, as I noted in the article, to the firm action of such non-Communists as Senator Moritt, Arthur Garfield Hays, the Reverend John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Bryn Hovde, and others.

There is, however, a clearer proof of the pudding of liberal confusion evident in Mr. Lefkowitz's letter. For although he does not suggest that the A. L. P. plaintiffs in Senator Moritt's suit were Communists—and how could he, since they had, before entering the suit, submitted non-Communist affidavits?—he smears them as belonging to a group "under complete Communist domination" and refuses to associate with them in a non-Communist action. This, as Justice Schirick put it, is "guilt by association with a venge-

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ance." This is the spirit in which the Feinberg law itself was written.

JUDITH CRIST

New York, December 19

A Peculiar Insistence?

Dear Sirs: As editor of the Twayne Library of Modern Poetry I am surprised at the difficulties your Mr. Humphries had [in *The Nation*, December 17] in wishing our project well. As nearly as I can see, Mr. Humphries thinks we have erred (a) in not producing a youth movement in poetry and (b) in publishing Merrill Moore's "Clinical Sonnets." On the latter point I note Mr. Humphries pays considerably more attention to the dust wrapper than to the poems—surely the shoddiest device in the reviewer's bag of tricks.

I can't pretend to understand Mr. Humphries's peculiar insistence on youth, but let me explain to him that Twayne is not opposed to youth as such. It may be, however, that since we are considerably closer to it than is Mr. Humphries, we are less nostalgic for it. Whatever the case, we do not plan to require a birth certificate with each manuscript.

As for Dr. Moore, I don't think anyone need apologize for publishing his interesting impromptus. Such widely separated inclinations as John Crowe Ransom, Louis Untermeyer, Dudley Fitts, and William Carlos Williams have found them attractive in the past. I think they are still attractive in their own crazy way; at least as much so in their exuberance as Mr. Humphries's owndelicate little verses are in their constraint, and I should certainly be happy to publish Mr. Humphries at any time. It's not my kind of poetry, but it is its own kind.

We shall continue to publish any book of poems that qualifies on its own premises. I should imagine anyone interested in poetry would have no difficulty in indorsing such a publishing program, but *de gustibus*, of course.

Yours in (moderate) praise of youth,

JOHN CIARDI, Editor,
Twayne Library of Modern Poetry

Medford, Mass., December 22

Salud!

Dear Sirs: Just a fan note to inform you that as long as you continue to print contributions from Mr. Del Vayo, you shall have at least one steady reader.

H. H. LEGG

Seattle, Wash., December 26

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Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

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